OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

POWER OF CLIMATE

OVER THE

POLICY, STRENGTH, and MANNERS,

OF

NATIONS.

Quicquid, ad eoos tractus mundique teporem
Labitur, emollit, gentis, clementia cæli. PROP.
Gens effræna virûm, Riphæo tunditur Euro. VIRG.

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CHAP. I.

How the Strength and Power of Nations are affected by Climate, and how good Policy may correct original Defects.

THE man who enjoys a reflective pleaſure in the peruſal of hiſtory, who looks for ſomething more than bare amuſement, who makes general inferences from the multitude of facts which paſs in obſervation, may fix the origin of national ſuperiority of power, in courage, in bodily ſtrength, in policy, and in numbers to a certain point, at which they begin to loſe their efficacy; an army equal to that of Xerxes would be as uſeleſs and unwieldy againſt modern diſcipline as his was found to be againſt the Greeks. That country which

contains one million of men able to cultivate the ſoil, and manufacture what may be neceſſary, can furniſh to a ſoldiery more than the country can provide for, more than are ſufficient to defend it, unleſs ſunk into effeminacy, or unleſs a general confederacy ſhould be formed to deſtroy it; and to provide againſt ſuch caſes would be a vain attempt. Theſe ingredients of ſuperiority never were, nor never will be found co-exiſting in the ſame people, but the more of them are found together, the more powerful the nation where they are found will be; ſuppoſing then this globe divided into ſtates poſſeſſed of competency as to number, the natural common and obvious cauſes of ſuperiority will be bodily ſtrength and courage, or the confidence ariſing from a knowledge of our own ſtrength; for policy is merely artificial, the reſult of painful deliberation, but ſtill within the human graſp: the natural cauſes of this ſuperiority are the ſpontaneous growth of northern climates, until we arrive at the regions of intemperature; they belong to the body; that

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ideal courage ariſing from honour, that *conſcia virtus*, which rouſed Turnus to ſingle combat with Æneas, is too ſcarce, too refined to be national; it is the child of imagination, and belongs entirely to the mind.

Yet however great and overbearing theſe natural cauſes may appear, Providence hath beſtowed powers upon the mind able in every reſpect to controul them, I mean thoſe of reaſon; but then an almoſt divine exertion of it becomes neceſſary. Reaſon or good policy will preſent to a ſenſible people a clear view of the condition in which they are placed, of their weakneſs or ſtrength: if weak of body, if few in number like Portugal or Genoa, common ſenſe will ſuggeſt, that quitting their preſent inſecurity they ſhould incorporate with greater powers, procure to themſelves ſtability and real independence, by renouncing the phantom they call independency, whilſt in truth their exiſtence hangs upon the permiſſion or aſſiſtance of others. The calamities of the Genoeſe

have made them ſenſible of their ſubordination to France; the proſperity of Portugal hath deſtroyed all recollection of its obligations to Britain. Nothing hath more fatally impoſed on mankind than falſe notions of national liberty: of what importance can be the independence of a ſtate if its people are vaſſals? The prince of ſuch a ſtate may flatter himſelf with ideas of ſovereignty; the nobles of that monſter amongſt governments, a modern republick, may fancy themſelves free, but the individuals in general muſt be unhappy, as well from internal oppreſſion as from the conſtant apprehenſion of external violence. Human happineſs, and not the honour of petty ſovereignty, is the true object of government: from the very tenuity of a ſtate the oppreſſion of its ſubjects muſt follow; it muſt ſubmit to heavy taxation, it muſt ſtrain beyond its natural ſtrength in order to defend itſelf: ſovereignty is dearly purchaſed upon ſuch terms, and after all it is no more than the creature of the real or imaginary intereſts of the great powers, who can transfer,

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dismember, or annihilate it at pleasure, and to whom it must yield advantages in trade or otherwise, as an equivalent for being permitted to call itself a sovereignty.

I would not be understood to want a thorough respect for every effort which can be made in favour of liberty, *the true fountain of virtue, and therefore of happiness*. The memory of Arminius, who fought to the last moment of life against the insolent ambition of Rome, I almost superstitiously revere; the Romans would have made the Germans vassals and not subjects; but that of the duke of Braganza, who detached Portugal from Spain, weakening both countries, which, united in situation, would have been so in manners and affections were it not for unnatural prejudices fomented by self-interested persons and states, I hold in the utmost detestation. The Scottish nation maintained an independent sovereignty for many ages, but their motives were just and sensible; their blood was not shed to support, and to pamper in luxury and vice, burthen-

ſome and effeminate tyrants; they ſuffered not their kings to tread upon the necks of better men than themſelves; they held them down to a frugality every way ſuited and proportioned to the ſcantineſs and ſterility of their country; they would not become the ſame people with the Engliſh upon baſe or unequal terms, but when ſuch were offered as a gallant people may honourably receive, they agreed to an union: the poverty of their country can reflect no diſhonour upon the Scotch; but that ſo ſmall a people hath made ſo reſpectable a figure in the annals of the world muſt redound to their immortal honour; they have partaken largely in the toil, hazard, and glory of ſupporting the Britiſh empire; but I muſt incline at the ſame time to believe, that during this reign, they have had more than their juſt proportion of the emoluments which prerogative hath beſtowed.

The feudal regulation in favour of primogeniture with regard to eſtates was founded upon good policy, a ſuppoſition that

that the eldeſt ſon was moſt capable of performing the ſervices of the tenure in defence of the realm; but the common law never intended to ſubject the free-born younger ſons to villenage; it preſumed that they ſhould receive employment through the ſeveral offices military, civil, and eccleſiaſtical, which are at this day within the diſpoſal of prerogative; it ſuppoſed the king a faithful truſtee to theſe purpoſes, and that the younger ſons of Engliſh families ſhould be thus reſpectably provided for: ſince the abolition of military tenures the preference given to primogeniture continues, and as this preference cuts off the younger children from any part of the inheritance, the ſame obligation ſtill remains upon prerogative of diſtributing theſe employments in as juſt and equal a proportion as before; this was undoubtedly the true ſpirit of that branch of the law of prerogative; for we cannot ſuppoſe theſe powers given to the purpoſes of gratifying the capricious predilections of our kings; they were given to be exerciſed in beſtowing the employ-

ments within the gift of the crown upon the younger branches of Engliſh families, who, in return, were bound to dedicate themſelves to the ſervice of their country. Some indeed ſay, that by ſtrict uſage of law the king hath been long in poſſeſſion of theſe powers, that the law hath not preſcribed the mode or the proportion in which he ſhould beſtow, that he is left at large to the uncontrouled diſcretionary exerciſe of his bounty, and at liberty to chuſe its objects; I acknowledge myſelf an abſolute ſtranger to the idea of a diſcretionary power any where, in ſuch an arbitrary eaſtern ſenſe; legal diſcretion is, *diſcernere per legem*, which acknowledges a rule of direction; this ſenſe of the word pervades the whoſe ſyſtem of our juriſprudence, the diſcretionary powers of judges and juries, and all the branches of prerogative. I muſt therefore conclude that the law having deſtined the offices in that part of this iſland called England for the Engliſh, and as no article of the union hath abrogated that part of our law, or mentioned the leaſt diſqualification of an Engliſhman to

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ſerve his country, a diſpoſal of employments almoſt entirely in favour of the Scotch ought to ſubject the miniſter, who hath adviſed it, to the moſt ſevere animadverſions; he having adviſed a meaſure contrary to law, to juſtice, and to ſound policy.

Let me return to my ſubject: Scotland hath exhibited a ſtrong example of ſound policy in correcting natural and original defects; but Roman ſtory affords the cleareſt illuſtration of this matter; the anceſtors of the Romans were placed in a part of Italy, the leaſt promiſing of any ever to become miſtreſs of the whole; the compliment of natural bravery was given by their great poet to the Marſians and other Italian nations preferably to the inhabitants of the diſtrict of Rome; and indeed ever ſince the power of ancient diſcipline, both civil and military, hath ceaſed in Italy, her inhabitants have appeared inclined rather to ſloth and luxury; nor is it improbable, had the Romans in the infancy of their ſtate, be-

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fore their political ſyſtem was perfected, nations of a conſiderably more northern ſituation to engage, when policy and diſcipline could not have interfered, where courage and bodily ſtrength were to decide, that they would have been overpowered; their firſt war with the Gauls is almoſt a proof of this, by whom they were immediately routed, and would have been deprived of their territory, had the Gauls any other than a deſultory war in view; their invaſion was unpremeditated and ſudden, a reſolution taken in the very heat of battle with the Tuſcans, provoked by a ſcandalous breach of the law of nations committed by the Roman ambaſſadors, who from mediators became principals; they were unprepared for maintaining their ground in an enemy's country after their victory; Roman policy was far from being adult at this period, for they ſuffered the enemy to arrive at the river Allia, eleven miles from Rome, before they oppoſed them; they neglected to create a dictator in ſuch an emergency; but to theſe at a more advanced period they

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attended, having met Annibal the moment he deſcended from the Alps, and having, as their diſtreſſes increaſed, made Fabius their dictator, which were manifeſt corrections of their former errors; I muſt therefore impute to a want of experience the mother of ſound precaution, what Livy would attribute to Fortune, "who, ſays he, worked theſe things "inſenſibly, in order to ſcourge the Ro-"mans into future greatneſs." The Romans had hitherto no experience in important events, their enemies heretofore were of ſmall conſequence compared with the Gauls, whom it is true they did afterwards conquer; but their policy and diſcipline were arrived at maturity before the Gauls, or any other powerful people, had ever after an opportunity of attacking them; the neighbouring Italian ſtates they ſubdued one after the other, and having the good ſenſe to melt their ſtrength down into one common maſs with their own, became a match for the more rude encounters of the north; how admirable the inſtitutions of that great

people muſt appear from hence, that when the operations of theſe inſtitutions ceaſed, when the ancient education was neglected, when the exerciſes of the Campus Martius no longer gave to the limbs and body of their youth the manly northern tone, when their military diſcipline, and the guardianſhip of the empire were conſigned to the Germans and other rude nations, the inhabitants of Italy ſhrunk inſtantaneouſly within the narrow circumſcription of climate; great therefore muſt have been the efforts of ſound reaſon, which could ſo long not only defeat the enervating and baneful effects of a ſoft climate, but ſupply all the advantages of a good one.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of thoſe who neglected to correct original Defects; and of Trade.

CArthage, on the other hand, ſo long the rival of Rome, was much behind her in that policy which can correct the natural imbecility of ſtates; the wealth which trade beſtows will always miſlead its poſſeſſors, who ſhould therefore never have any concern in the direction of a great nation; too partial to their favourite object, they attribute to riches almoſt omnipotence itſelf; ſuch was the caſe of Tyre; its inhabitants wealthy beyond meaſure, but confined in their ideas of government as in territory, totally given up to the accumulation of money, they neglected ſuch an acquiſition of land as may form a reſpectable ſtate, for Hieram refuſed the twenty cities of Galilee which Solomon offered him; they ſuppoſed no human force could take a city which contained

ſo many opulent merchants; numbers with valour however were found to prevail, and Alexander deſtroyed it. Carthage, a ſucker from Tyre, ſtruck root in a fruitful ſoil, where by degrees ſhe might have flouriſhed and extended her territorial branches; but relying upon trade and colonies too much, ſhe had no attention to internal ſtrength; like a thin body with ſtrong and athletick limbs, but without either a reſt or ſupport; too proud for incorporating with her neighbours ſhe would rule them by her ſuperior wealth, ſo that inſtead of faithful fellow citizens ſhe was in the time of diſtreſs ſurrounded by nations who rejoiced at her ruin, and having no reſource in a native ſoldiery was obliged to put her truſt in perfidious mercenaries; ſuch are the fatal conſequences of throwing the management of a ſtate into mercantile hands. A profeſſion founded upon ſelf-intereſt muſt contract a mind otherwiſe well enough diſpoſed, but totally compreſs one which is originally indifferent; it leaves no room for the great idea of a *whole*; the movement of the

grand

grand machine is too large an object for that eye which hath been always rivetted to a ſingle wheel; he who hath been labouring all the morning for narrow *ſelf*, cannot leave that *ſelf* behind him at the threſhold of the ſenate houſe, nor can his mind bear an occaſional ſudden dilatation to the great patriot ſize. Particular men may be cited againſt this general doctrine, but no caſe, however diſtinguiſhed for its ſingularity, can be imagined which hath not occurred at ſome one time or other: a mind might have been found moſt ſtubbornly unapt to the buſineſs it had been turned to, and by its innate vigour, in ſpite of all profeſſional conſtraint, might have retained its original liberality; but, if a merchant can be a ſtateſman, ſure I am that he is ſo by nature and not education. The few merchants who have been diſtinguiſhed as ſtateſmen are much ſpoken of becauſe they were but few: the many venal wretches who have crept into parliament without either virtue or capacity have eſcaped our obſervation, becauſe ſuch

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characters, in their claſs, were neither rare nor unexpected. I well know that I write in the very teeth both of faſhion and prejudice, for I have not long ſince heard a noble lord, at the head indeed of a board of trade, declare, in the upper houſe, the Britiſh nation to be merely a nation of commerce: that commerce to a moderate degree is very uſeful to a people no perſon will deny; but to make every conſideration of honour and juſtice give way to commercial policy; to put up with national indignities through a conſideration of ſome petty advantages in trade, which indignities are much more durable in their bad effects, than a ſelfiſh unfeeling miniſter of a narrow department can foreſee, is diſgraceful to a nation, which has made a reſpectable figure in Europe, and muſt ſink the ſpirits of her people much lower than thoſe of a brave people ought to be. I do not write againſt trade, I ſpeak againſt its exceſs, and if it ſhould be ſaid in reply, that moderation is not attainable, I ſhall candidly acknowledge that I look upon a total abſence of trade as a leſſer evil than

that

that which muſt follow where a ſordid commercial ſpirit is ſuffered entirely to predominate.

To detail the tranſactions of the Eaſt India Company would be to give a narrative of ſundry monopolies, or of the moſt ſhocking and horrid crimes; amongſt them we ſee the dreadful effects of letting a band of rapacious merchants, or thoſe who aſſumed the mercantile character, armed with the powers of ſovereignty, looſe upon an innocent induſtrious people, who could be charged with no crime by the Britiſh nation except that of being rich, cowardly, and therefore of eaſy conqueſt: we have ſeen them plunder, murder, and ſtarve theſe innocent wretches with impunity. The Peruvians and Mexicans were only deprived of their gold, the produce of their mountains; the Eaſt Indians were robbed of what they had acquired by their labour and induſtry. We have ſeen reprobates go out to India whoſe vices or incapacity made it impoſſible for them to be ſubſiſted at home, and within a ſhort time we have ſeen them return loaded with

wealth and with iniquity; by bribery and corruption we have ſeen them deſtroying the morals of the Britiſh conſtituents, and placing not only themſelves in the ſeat of legiſlature, but carrying into the lower houſe a train of menial ſenators under their abſolute direction; and we muſt know, notwithſtanding the art which has been made uſe of to perſuade the world, that the court was ſincere and in earneſt when L. C. was attacked by the commons, that unleſs ſome perſons very high in power had been corruptly obtained, this arch delinquent, with many others, even in theſe days of avowed peculation, could never have eſcaped; but what is moſt to be regretted, we now deſpair of ſeeing any delinquent of magnitude ſufficient to form an uſeful example, ever ſuffer for theſe enormities. Theſe things have been cauſed by trade, or under colour of trade, and they are not puniſhed, becauſe men either concerned in like crimes, or who hope it may one day be their own turn to partake in emoluments of the ſame kind, who forgive that they may be forgiven, do conſtitute too great a part of the ſovereign or legiſlative power.

Every

Every profeſſion in a community ſhould be ſubject to ſome kind of controul, and if a merchant wants controul, no perſons ſo improper to be the controulers as merchants. A Roman Senator, we well know, was not ſuffered to have a veſſel at ſea containing more than a certain ſmall meaſure, enough for the ſupply of his family. The profits accruing to a merchant ought to be ſufficient to ſatisfy him; let him leave to the enſuing generation the enjoyment of honours, when the fæculencies of trade ſhall be purged away; for I am, and always ſhall be of Mr. Harrington's opinion, that no man was ever a legiſlator, who had not been a gentleman; a gentleman before he was a legiſlator, not a gentleman becauſe he was a legiſlator. I know the eſtimation in which ſome writers have held the legiſlation of Mr. Penn, but were it not for the ſword of the mother country, from the want of ſome military ingredients in the government of Penſylvania, which a gentleman would have infuſed, its inhabitants, paſſive and inanimate, would be incapable of defending themſelves.

CHAP. III.

Manufactures; and America.

A Rage for manufactures is one powerful cauſe of the calamities now complained of, on account of the dearneſs of proviſions; for the ſcarcity of the neceſſaries of life is in truth occaſioned, by the diſproportion between thoſe who conſume, and thoſe who are employed in producing theſe neceſſaries. The modern manufactures (for I ſpeak not of the ſtaple manufacture of wool) together with the many ſedentary callings which adminiſter to luxury and to vanity, have drawn more than their ſhare from the plough, men who would have raiſed proviſions ſufficient for themſelves and many others; it is ſaid they procure money to pay for proviſions, but that will not anſwer the end of ſupply, for they now complain of want. Let us ſuppoſe ten thouſand people in an iſland obliged to ſupply itſelf with victuals; one thouſand of theſe cultivate the ſoil, and the reſt of the

the inhabitants are ſupplied by their labour: if five hundred of the above thouſand be taken from the account of proviſion, and added to that of conſumption, that is, if they forſake the plough, and betake themſelves to manufactures, or to any thing elſe, ſuppoſing the ten thouſand only ſupplied before, there will, after ſuch deduction from the ſtock of huſbandry, remain five thouſand five hundred without one morſel of food, *viz.* the five thouſand which were ſupplied by the five hundred which formerly attended the plough, and the five hundred themſelves: this will apply to the whole iſland of Britain. I know the ſenſible part of the French nation condemn the politics of Colbert for having carried the ſpirit of manufacture too far in prejudice of agriculture, which gave them plenty of victuals and of able ſoldiers; and when I contemplate the multitude of manufacturers, and retailers in this huge metropolis, and in every city, town, and village, in the iſland; bearded mercers, ſturdy hoſiers, able bodied maſculine milliners and mantua-makers, attor-

nies clerks, hair-dreſſers, tavern, coffee-houſe, bagnio waiters, and the lacqueys of every hackney coachman, I am not ſurpriſed at the numbers of unhappy proſtitutes who infeſt the ſtreets, forced out of many of the above occupations, which are well ſuited to the weakneſs of their ſex; and I muſt alſo ſay with the elegant poet, *ſqualent abductis arva colonis.* The calamity of war had ſtripped the Italian plains of its huſbandmen, but luxury, diſſipation, the ſcandalous inattention, or the infamous connivance of magiſtracy, and of legiſlature, have laid waſte thoſe of England.

Monteſquieu, in ſpeaking of trade, ſeems to want that conſiſtency which marks his writings in general; "agreeable manners," ſays this writer, "and commerce are "generally found together"; I hope he underſtood a moderate ſhare of commerce, for he afterwards affirms that people "actuated by that alone, make a traffick "of all the virtues": hoſpitality, a kind reception of ſtrangers, an eaſy and affectionate

tionate intercourſe between neighbouring families, belongs undoubtedly to *agreeable manners*; but it is ſcarce known in mere commercial countries. The Dutch, and a conſiderable part of the Engliſh have reſigned it to uncivilized nations; and in England it is remarkable that the parts of the country moſt remote from commerce, afford the moſt agreeable manners, which any perſon can teſtify who has been at the Hot-wells of Briſtol, and at Scarborough, at Harrowgate, and at Margate. Trading countries have indeed the appearance of being poſſeſſed of a kind of political honeſty, which can ſcarcely be called a virtue; it is rather a profitable punctuality which their intereſt for ſome time had conſtrained them to obſerve; but that punctuality no longer coinciding with their intereſts, ſince the paſſages through the laws of bankruptcy have been ſounded by ſkilful pilots, and found not ſo dangerous as the ignorance of our forefathers ſuppoſed them to be, punctuality amongſt merchants ſeems no longer in any repute.

" Other nations," ſays Monteſquieu, " made the intereſts of trade yield to poli- " ticks; the Engliſh have made thoſe of " politicks give way to thoſe of com- " merce". If by politicks is underſtood the *government of the whole community*, I cannot perceive the merit of making an attention to the whole give way to that of the part: that writer has however aſſerted the real truth, nor has it been more clearly proved than in the late diſputes of admini- ſtration with the Americans; government had raſhly and ungenerouſly treated that worthy part of our empire, but fearing to loſe ſo good a market for the manufac- tures of Britain, they corrected one error by plunging into another, and ſhewed ſuch an inſtability in their counſels as would have encouraged a leſs ſenſible peo- ple to acts of violence; it hath not indeed ſhaken the Britiſh ſovereignty in America, but it muſt have impaired the reſpect which it formerly had.

As Carthage was to Tyre, ſo is America to Britain; both laid down upon a larger ſcale

ſcale than the reſpective mother country, both originated with a view to commerce. Carthage, as we have ſeen before, when ſhe grew into power, might have corrected the error of Tyre, and, inſtead of ſending forth diſtant colonies, might have ſtrengthened herſelf at home: but the anceſtors of the Americans coming into an almoſt uninhabited region, did not meet with the ſame difficulty in obtaining a ſufficient extent of country, as the Tyrian adventurers are ſaid to have done; trade therefore with the Americans, independent of manufactures, will in all probability go hand in hand with agriculture; the profuſion of materials, which a vaſt continent muſt long ſupply, will furniſh them with the manufactures of other nations, without ſtopping the plough, or ſilencing the ax, without drawing their common people out of the wholeſome air, and affixing them to ſedentary, unhealthy trades and occupations: no human power can impede the population of ſuch a country; the luxury of Europe muſt impoveriſh its inhabitants; the oppreſſion of the common

people

people through all its kingdoms, the preſent deſponding ſtate of liberty in the three old decrepit quarters of the globe, will make multitudes of emigrants to the other; in ſhort, all deſirable circumſtances ſeem to concur in accelerating the growth of that country.

Many nations have been born down by the weight of their dependencies, Carthage in particular: the root was unable to ſupply the ſtock and branches, and what root could be equal to ſuch a ſupply, as the vaſt tract of America will require? The Athenians colonized the coaſt of Aſia Minor, but when the Ionian cities were grown up to maturity, they were not ſubject to Athens, but its allies, its very faithful friends, and whilſt well uſed were a powerful ſupport to the Athenians in their wars with the Perſians. It was the folly of Carthage to attempt, and to maintain whilſt they could ſo, a domination both in Spain and Sicily; the attempt drew more from the ſtate than the dependencies could return; and upon the ſmalleſt blaſt of fortune,

tune, their oppreſſed dependencies joined their enemies: had theſe been treated as equals and fellow citizens, the Carthaginians, a commercial people, would have drawn great emoluments from their traffick, and have found them firm to their common intereſts in the day of diſtreſs. It is true the Spaniards and Sicilians were not of Punick deſcent, the Americans, on the contrary, are of Britiſh origin; but men treated as aliens will in time begin to think themſelves ſo; we know that an abuſed and much injured friend hath often become the moſt dangerous enemy. Britain and Ireland once conſolidated (as all the contiguous parts of an empire ought to be, if it hopes for ſtrength and agility) ſhould their politicks, inſtead of a rapid accumulation of wealth to individuals, have the cultivation of their waſtes, wholeſome government, and the virtue of the people in general for their object, will find ample ſpace, within the two iſlands, for a great and permanent empire; their happy ſituation, with their other great natural advantages, will command, for ages to come,

a moſt reſpectable trade; the Americans, both from intereſt and affection, will be always their friends, but it will be impoſſible to treat them much longer as vaſſals.

If the face of Europe continues of its preſent complexion, every power muſt be guarded againſt its neighbour; ſtanding armies are ready both in peace and in war to take advantage of the feeble or of the indolent; this muſt draw home the general attention from diſtant objects; the ſtrict letter of the law of nations is no longer regarded, for it ſeems neither expreſs renunciation, nor length of time, can operate in bar of the rights of princes; they never die, they only ſleep until opportunity ſhall awaken them; it will therefore be impoſſible for the powers of Europe, circumſtanced as above, to afford great numbers or much expence in conſtraining diſtant colonies to ſubmit to ſlavery.

England hath engaged herſelf too deeply in manufactures, and it will indeed be a

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difficulty almoſt inſurmountable, to bring her ſons back to her deſerted plains: nothing more abſurd than to ſuppoſe that America can think of rivalling her in manufactures, or of ſtooping to manufacture even what may be ſufficient for herſelf, whilſt a fruitful ſoil, enjoyed at an eaſy rate, ſupplies her with corn, hemp, flax, rice, tobacco, and will, in a ſhort time, ſupply ſilk and wine; whilſt their foreſts ſhall furniſh timber, pitch, and tar, and whilſt her mines are as rich as thoſe of Sweden, which, without manufactures, commands all the labours and produce of the ſouth, holding at the ſame time, through her valuable materials, a large balance of trade in her favour. The ſpirit of manufacture marks the old age of a ſtate; lazineſs and luxury are the parents of manufacture; our colonies are ſo far from old age, that they are as yet ſome degrees removed from puberty; unleſs Britain, therefore, ſhall be ſo unfortunate as to chuſe the model for governing the Americans, *her own deſcendants*, from that by which the Romans ruled

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the provinces out of Italy, which they had *actually conquered*, compel her to adminiſter, not to the reaſonable exigencies of the mother country, but to her luxury and waſteful extravagance, ſhe will ever have a vent for her manufactures in the colonies, and this vent will enlarge itſelf ſo expeditiouſly that ſhe may ſoon look with contempt upon the markets of Europe: nor can I find that the Americans have as yet diſcovered any ſerious thoughts of a ſeparation from Britain; a powerful love of the native ſoil is eſſential to views of independency, which nothing impreſſes ſo deeply as an home education; but they have never yet attended to a ſyſtem of education ſuited to their particular climate, ſituation and intereſts, which may give their youth an early acquaintance with each other, and wrap them up in one common intereſt, create a national uniformity of manners, and, inſtead of the whole Britiſh empire, make America their focus of patriotiſm. Every nation ſhould have ſome one political point in view, to which the cultivation of mind and body ſhould

have a tendency; that of Rome was universal empire, commerce that of ſome, falſe glory of others; liberty ſeems to be the American object of which their idea is vigorous and beautiful, but, wild and unformed; it only comprehends the individual as yet, without any regard to the ſtate; cultivation of the ſoil, population, and the preſervation of a ſimplicity of manners, ſo far as may conſiſt with their intercourſe with Britain, ſeem to be all they deſire, and to diſturb or traverſe them in ſuch deſigns, is not only impolitick in Britain, but brutal and barbarous; but if it ſhould be their hard fate to be ſeparated from Britain, they will have the almoſt unparalleled advantage, of forming one or more ſtates upon their continent, in a ſingle day, by recurring to the Engliſh code, and tranſcribing thence whatever is beſt ſuited to their convenience: this will have a moſt ſalutary effect upon their manners, for here the manners are immediately committed to the charge of law, which brings them to its rule; but when a ſtate hath an infancy, and forms

its conſtitution by degrees, the manners do not ſpring out of the idea of the legiſlator; law does not give the colour, but is itſelf tinged by the pre-exiſting virtues, vices, or propenſities of the people, and inſtead of directing their manners, is rather bent and perverted by them.

RECAPITULATION.

WE have ſeen the ſouthern countries of Europe neglecting the obvious ſubſtitutes to native ſtrength and courage, which preſent themſelves, numbers and extent of territory: a conſciouſneſs of their own weakneſs, and that the fertility, beauty, and the high cultivation of their country muſt hold forth a temptation to invaders, were I ſhould imagine ſtrong inducements to enlarge their communities, in order to become reſpectable; yet ſuch hath been their infatuation, that ſince the diſſolution of the Roman empire, Italy hath been always breaking itſelf into petty dukedoms and principalities; every intervening river,

river, mountain, or lake, afforded reaſons ſufficient for erecting a ſeparate ſtate; in ſhort it was conſtantly relapſing into that divided condition in which the Romans found it, and has been therefore a prey to more conquerors than any other country upon earth. The diviſions of Spain ſubjected it to the Moors, and was it not for the intermarriage of the houſes of Arragon and Caſtile, theſe diviſions would, in all probability, have ſtill exiſted. The northern countries were formerly without theſe inducements to form large communities (for the relation between the members of the Germanick body, is not ſtrong enough to make them be conſidered as one community) but the progreſs which trade and the arts have made into theſe once inhoſpitable regions, hath raiſed many rich and flouriſhing cities there, like diamonds ſet in a baſe metal; they are become objects of enterprize, and the enlargement of territory, to the ends of national ſelf-preſervation, is as requiſite now, in the north as in the ſouth.

CHAP. IV.

Good Climates loſe their Effects.

AS the enervating effects of a ſouthern climate may be counteracted by wiſe inſtitutions, which was manifeſt in the caſe of the Romans, ſo may the invigorating effects of a northern climate be relaxed by bad policy, by circumſtances of ſoil, and peculiarity of ſituation, to ſuch a degree, that the manners of the ſouthern are often found in the north. National character is a peculiarity, not in all, but in a part of the manners of a people, and this partial variation forms the ſtrong line of character; where the force of climate is ſtopped by an intermixture of theſe opponent circumſtances, there we are to expect much changeability in the ſame people; uniformity of character is not to be found, becauſe their climate is not always ſuffered to act uniformly upon them, and at different periods they will appear a different

people; riches and plenty will lead such a people to an almoſt unreſtrained gratification of appetites, and it is the fear only of loſing their ſtrength, their courage, and of becoming the ſpoil of a more powerful neighbour, which can put them under any degree of controul; but if inſular ſituation ſhould ſecure them againſt the probability of external danger, then would the indulgence of appetite be unbounded, and extreme luxury would be a great part of their national character; ſuch a people having little to fear from other nations, would be leſs cautious of offending; ſavages for this reaſon, being by their ignorance diſcharged from any apprehenſions, are generally inſolent; they enſlave, they devour all who fall into their hands, not conceiving how the friendſhip of ſtrangers can be in any reſpect material to them; a law of nations they know not, that law is founded upon an idea of mutual convenience and a reciprocation of kind offices; pirates indeed deſpiſe it, not becauſe like ſavages they know not the advantages of it, but becauſe their crimes have placed

them where they cannot enjoy these advantages; the opinion therefore of being secure from danger, whether arising from ignorance, notions of inaccessibility, or prepossession in favour of their own superiority, will have the same brutal effect: such it had upon the French, dazzled by the tinseled glories of their grand tyrant; Henry the Fourth left them a nation of gallant heroes and courteous knights, Lewis the XIVth made them an insolent aggregate of egregious coxcombs, nor has their present wretched condition as yet brought them to a proper sense of their insignificancy; their fashionable writer is a type of his country, confident, uninformed, and all assuming; who treats the reputation of all foreign writers, as the French highwaymen do travellers, first murder and then plunder their treasure; such the insolence of the Turks until humbled by the heroine of the north.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

POLAND.

POLAND may be conſidered as one example of thoſe countries, where the good tendencies of climate are diverted by bad government and other circumſtances. Poland lying within the northern latitude of 46 and 56 degrees, enjoys all the invigorating effects of climate; it produces more corn than any other country in Europe; its ſuperficial contents 220,000 ſquare miles, above 90,000 more than thoſe of France; and yet, with all theſe natural advantages, we ſee to what a miſerable weakneſs the corruption of that worſt ſpecies of government, called an ariſtocracy, hath reduced them: we ſee how the fertility of their ſoil, ſoftening the evils of ſlavery, hath reconciled its inhabitants to the tyranny of their oppreſſors; deſcended from thoſe brave Tartars and Ruſſians, who came into Sarmatia, when its old inhabitants had marched to

the more ſouthern countries of Italy and Spain, they have patiently endured more than Aſiatick ſervitude.

It is not for me to determine whether the great powers, who have made partition of ſome of the Poliſh provinces, are warranted by any law in this aſtoniſhing meaſure; however, in my own opinion, the great law of nature does ſuperſede any compact or preſcription derogatory from the liberties of mankind: no human creature can grant away, for any conſideration, the liberty of the unborn child, becauſe that child can have received no equivalent for ſuch grant; nor can a ſlavery of ten thouſand years eſtabliſh the right of continuing it. The Poles, had they not been wrenched from their climatick character by ſome unnatural violence, or did they not conceive ſtrong hopes of improving their condition by the late revolution, would have made ſome diſtinguiſhed effort againſt the dividing powers, and have thereby encouraged other ſtates to aſſiſt them; but they ſeem to acquieſce, and

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whether this acquieſcence ariſes from a debaſement of their ancient ſpirit by their hateful ariſtocracy, or from being thoroughly ſatisfied with the change, a philoſopher, whoſe object is general good, cannot avoid being pleaſed with the event; and ſince that unhappy people could not relieve themſelves, he muſt rejoice at ſeeing them receive that relief from others. But to conſider this matter in a view relative to the intereſts of Europe, is the more contracted, though not leſs difficult, buſineſs of a politician. The weakneſs of ſtates has been the cauſe of moſt of our modern wars; they have afforded temptation to avarice and to ambition; claims upon ſmall territories are never wanting to a powerful prince; marriages have ſupplied them moſt plentifully; the duchy of Burgundy was erected into a ſtate which became ſo formidable as to ſhake the French monarchy to its foundation; that duchy afterward paſſing to the houſe of Auſtria by marriage, with the claims of its ſovereign ſtill over it, was the cauſe of

continual wars for two centuries. To retain the ſovereignty of a great fief was of little account if the vaſſal was in a condition to withhold the ſervices: the deſign of infeudations was to ſtrengthen the monarchy, upon a ſuppoſition of inviolable fealty in the feudatory; but if that end be not anſwered but rather diſappointed by the feudatory, that king or ſovereign is not only a patriot who ſnatches the firſt opportunity of cruſhing theſe turbulent vaſſalages, but does a general good by contributing to the general peace; hence it is that the politicks of Lewis the XIth of France do not appear to me in that odious light in which they are generally repreſented. The duke of Burgundy had certainly a right to enjoy his fiefs agreeable to the conſtitution of the monarchy; ſo had the other great vaſſals of the crown, but it was againſt the conſtitution to riſe up in arms upon every trifling diſpute with their ſovereign, and enter into alliances with his enemies, becauſe it diſturbed the peace, and impaired the ſtrength of the kingdom: ſo as I have ſhewn before that

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the individuals of a ſmall ſtate cannot be ſo happy as thoſe of a large one, becauſe leſs ſecure, I muſt wiſh to ſee Europe divided into reſpectable ſtates, rather than ſee a continuation of its trifling principalities, for the proſpect of advantages on the ſide of peace and tranquillity obtained by ſuch diviſions, will bear down many objections. Poland, in its preſent condition, I look upon as one of thoſe weak ſtates, but am far from inſiſting that the partition of its provinces between the three powers is abſolutely neceſſary to remove that cauſe of frequent wars in Europe, imputed ſo long to the venality of the Poliſh nobility; but muſt nevertheleſs be inclined to believe, as few ſtates or indeed perſons are found who will be the inſtruments of general good without regard to particular intereſt, that the increaſe of territory accruing to the three powers cannot be of ſo general evil, as to continue the Poles in their preſent weak condition would be; but if theſe powers will, before they lay down their arms, beſtow upon what ſhall remain of that extenſive country, ſuch a

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form of government as may anſwer the ends of internal happineſs, and of ſecurity againſt external force, they will then deſerve the acknowledgements and applauſe of the reſt of Europe.

CHAP. VI.

Objections to a Diviſion of Europe into large States anſwered; and of the Turks.

THE firſt objection to large ſtates which ſtrikes me, is, that a combination of ſuch ſtates, to an unbalancing purpoſe, is more eaſily formed than one of many ſmall ones: it is granted, but not to mention the improbability that ſuch a combination ſhould laſt until much miſchief could be accompliſhed, the objection vaniſhes when we reflect, that to oppoſe the ſchemes of ambition, a combination of great powers alſo is more eaſily formed

formed than one of many ſmall ones; their weakneſs, their poverty, their fears, retard them. Whilſt the French were ſo formidable, in the laſt century, we muſt remember the great difficulties William the Third encountered, in bringing about ſuch a confederacy as was at length able to controul them; many of the ſmall princes of Germany entered into an alliance with France againſt their own country, whereas had Germany been formed into powerful communities, its oppoſition to France would have been more effectual: the ſmaller a ſtate the more narrow its intereſts, leſs actuated by general conſiderations, more ſubject to the ſordid paſſions of individuals, and drawn with more facility from the line of publick good; but the operations of great ſtates are quick and deciſive, the ends effected at a leſſer expence of blood; ſuch was the caſe in the two laſt wars: the Ruſſians did awe or compel the victorious party, which is ſeldom diſtinguiſhed by any great ſhare of moderation, into an equitable peace, and ſhews that powerful ſtates can, by a ſea-

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ſonable and ſudden exertion of their ſtrength, do much good, whilſt that ſtrength will not be ſuffered to do much evil; its operation is favoured in one caſe, in the other it is checked and oppoſed.

Another objection ariſing from the danger of having two or more of theſe ſtates united by the laws of inheritance, and becoming too powerful, is removed, when we conſider, that ſhould ſuch an abſurdity be allowed by the conſtitutions of Europe, as that the ſovereignty of one kingdom directed by the municipal ſubordinate rule of inheritance, ſhould, on extinction of the royal line, paſs from the natives of that kingdom to the native of another, being a king, yet would the general policy of oppoſing ſuch a pernicious junction be better ſeconded by a confederacy of great powers, than by a ſlow aſſemblage of ſmall ones; but I will ſuppoſe a rule or conſtitution to prevent an accumulation of dominion to the ſame family, a perpetual congreſs held in the very center of Europe, charged with a general ſuperintendency of

of the whole; watchful of only what relates to the balance, without reſpect to what I may call the private intereſt of any ſtate: its idea may be taken from the council of the Amphictyones in Greece, but extended and amplified in proportion to the greatneſs of its object; and I muſt conclude that no conſpiracy againſt the general tranquillity could eſcape the eyes of ſuch a political Argus.

The *pacta conventa*, or the limitations put upon the kings of Poland previous to their election, by the aſſembled gentry, are ſuppoſed to be unanimous reſolutions; but how is this unanimity obtained? why if there ſhould be any difference of opinions, the oppoſing parties engage in battle until the weaker is conſtrained to come over to the conquerors, and this is the conviction which prevails in a Poliſh aſſembly. The hereditary Lordſhips of the Poliſh nobles acknowledge no royal juriſdiction, and ſo great is their power, ſo extenſive their dependencies, that prince Lubermiſki is ſaid to have been poſſeſſed of four hundred

dred cities and villages: their diſputes about property are for the moſt part decided by force, which makes the country an almoſt conſtant theatre of violence and ravage; its ſituation makes it the frontier of Chriſtendom, but ſo far from having any internal ſtrength, it is as to its military force abſolutely contemptible. Cracow, ſaid to be its ſtrongeſt fortreſs, did not, in the war between the Swedes and king Auguſtus, endure a ſiege of one week; and during the conteſt for the crown in 1733, the houſes of the parties of Staniſlaus and Auguſtus at Warſaw were plundered ſeveral times within the month, as each happened to obtain the ſuperiority; ſo great was the animoſity of Pole againſt Pole. Although by the treaty of Oliva, the Lutherans of Royal Pruſſia were to be protected in their civil and religious rights, and ſupported in the privilege of being advanced to magiſtracies; yet the ſevere and partial treatment of the magiſtrates of Thorn, who were executed in the year 1724, by the cruel arts of the Jeſuits, in contempt of the moſt warm proteſts and re-

remonſtrances of the proteſtant powers, eſpecially of his Pruſſian majeſty, ſhews the violence and injuſtice of a Poliſh tribunal; and yet the nobility of this country, who hold their vaſſals under the moſt baſe ſubjection, had the effrontery to declare a jealouſy that Auguſtus had a deſign to deſtroy their liberties, by making the crown hereditary in his family; the only ſtep perhaps which could poſſibly be taken for removing the great defects of that government, and preventing this kingdom from being any longer the grand nuiſance of Europe.

But nothing makes ſome reformation in their government ſo neceſſary, as that Poland furniſhes the Turks (through the cloſe alliance between the Poliſh and the Ottoman courts) with an occaſion of intereſting themſelves in the politicks of Chriſtendom, and that it is an inlet to their armies inſtead of being a barrier againſt theſe infidels: not to mention the great ſcandal to Chriſtianity, that its moſt inveterate enemies ſhould preſume to meddle with the ſyſtem of Chriſtian princes, I dare to inſiſt that human

man nature is concerned in the humiliation of the Turks; the inſolence and exorbitant power of this people have, ever ſince the fall of the Grecian empire, obſtructed the paſſages between Europe, and the African and Aſiatick continents in ſuch a manner, that were it not for the Portugueze, we ſhould at this day be totally unacquainted with either: ſuch their brutal prejudices againſt our religion, that a Chriſtian traveller, unprotected by an hired janizary, cannot take a view of their cities without being inſulted by theſe barbarians, and if a reſident Chriſtian preſumes to put on a white turban, or wear yellow ſlippers, he is buffeted by the next Turk he meets; in fact the rules of humanity, recognized by the European ſtates, are by theſe trampled upon and deſpiſed. The communication of their reſpective diſcoveries by nations to each other, enlarges the comforts and conveniences of all, and their knowledge becomes a joint ſtock; an eſtabliſhed intercourſe reconciles them to each other; upon a cloſe view their prejudices evaporate; the rancour of religious difference

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is ſoftened; they ceaſe to conſider themſelves as animals of a different ſpecies; univerſal benevolence takes place; the inhabitants of the earth may come by degrees to look upon each other as the children of the ſame beneficent parent, and the whole globe, like Chriſtendom, be at length formed into a community of ſtates: this may indeed appear chimerical, but it ſurely is what he, who wiſhes the happineſs of mankind, would be pleaſed to ſee effected: and if we conſider the improvements which have been made in the modes of travelling by ſea and by land, the great expedition with which vaſt journies are now performed, we ſhall find, that were all nations to concur in promoting it, an intercourſe between the moſt diſtant parts of the world, may be eaſier ſupported at preſent, than it could in the time of Charlemagne, between the diſtant kingdoms of Europe. The great power of the Turks gives the principal impediment to this; it is from their great power, that the contempt which they have always ſhewn to the law of nations hath ariſen, and therefore it is incumbent upon all

nations to join in pulling down thoſe who have ſo long ſpurned at what all the world ſhould revere and hold ſacred.

CHAP. VII.

SOUTH BRITAIN.

I Now come to South Britain, a country in which I am more nearly concerned, and of all others it furniſhes the ſtrongeſt example of the powerful oppoſition which the fertility of ſoil, and the ſecurity of ſituation hath given to the invigorating virtue of climate, inſomuch as to make it at particular times extremely doubtful, whether courage or puſillanimity be the ſtrong line of national character in its inhabitants: theſe circumſtances have often reduced them ſo low, that to guard againſt ſuch attacks as may be made upon this weak condition, it would be prudent to

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reſort to that policy, to the good inſtitutions and diſcipline which ſuch ſouthern nations as were wiſe have had recourſe to; for certain it is that this country hath, notwithſtanding its northern advantages, been often ſunk almoſt to a ſouthern level.

I well know the vehement deſire of moſt nations to have it believed that they are deſcended from an ancient and honourable ſtock. I cannot perceive what compliment Livy and Virgil could ſuppoſe they paid the Romans by deriving them from a parcel of vanquiſhed Trojan runaways, when Strabo has proved in his 13th book, in his deſcription of Troas, and from the authority of Homer himſelf, that Æneas never left Troy, but ſucceeded to the throne after the death of Priam; be that as it will, unſollicitous about the opinion of thoſe who lean upon the merit of anceſtry, truth is my object, and in purſuing it, I muſt declare that the earlieſt account I can find of the South Britons, is in Cæſar's commentaries, when diſcourſing of the people of Gaul, he tells us, that the

Sueſſiones, an inconſiderable nation of that country in his time, had been once very powerful, and had *conquered the Britons*; ſo that the very firſt view we have of South Britain, is in a ſtate of abſolute ſubjection to a ſmall diſtrict of Gaul, which inclines me to think, that the enervating circumſtances before ſpoken of, had an early effect upon the Britons, and had ſlackened the genuine force of climate: unacquainted with refined luxury until the Roman conqueſt, they made a rapid progreſs under the inſtruction of that people, although they do not ſeem to have given any great attention to their military leſſons, for we find the Picts, not one fifth of their number, upon the departure of the Romans, driving them in a moſt piteous condition to the ſea in the ſouth, the ſea as unmercifully returning them back to the Picts in the north: to ſay the Romans had carried away their young men to ſerve in their armies is no apology, ſufficient numbers were left behind, but in truth they were no longer men; their intercourſe with Gaul, ſhews a probability that there was trade

amongſt

amongſt them; the uſe of chariots, a cuſtom truly Aſiatick, to which they betook themſelves in order to accelerate their flight, marks a ſtrong providence to the means of eſcaping, and indicates an abſence of determined reſolution: theſe are clear proofs of a luxurious tendency; and that inſular ſituation had affected their behaviour to ſtrangers is evident, becauſe ſo far as we are informed, it was ſuch as muſt ariſe from too great a confidence in that ſituation—*hoſpitibus feros*--the conſequence of being ſeparated from the world; nations upon the ſame continent cannot be unacquainted with each other; they compare and reſpect, unleſs prepoſſeſſed by too exalted ideas of their own ſuperiority.

CHAP. VIII.

How the Britons reſiſted Julius Cæſar.

BUT a ſhort view of the behaviour of the Britons againſt the wanton invaſion of the Romans, will put this matter in a clearer light, and facts will eſtabliſh the general charge. I am confident that Cæſar deſerves little credit when he gives the aſſiſtance afforded by Britain to the Gauls, as a reaſon for invading that country, becauſe he hath almoſt in the ſame breath acknowledged, that the ports, the creeks, the towns of Britain were entirely unknown to the Gauls, and that he was therefore under the neceſſity of ſending Voluſenus to explore them, which ignorance of the Gauls could not have exiſted had there been an alliance between the two nations; but Cæſar would never wiſh to deceive us by repreſenting the courage of the Britons as inferior to what it really was, for that would be in effect to depreciate his

his own merit in having beaten them. By his account when he approached the ſhore of this iſland, finding his tranſports too heavy to come near enough for landing his ſoldiers, he manned one of his long veſſels, which did not draw ſo much water as the tranſport, with ſlingers, archers, legionaries, and fixing his projectile engine in the ſame veſſel, preſented her broadſide to the enemy, who were drawn up on the beach; the novelty of theſe long veſſels, the motion of the oars, and the ſight of the engines, filled the Britons with conſternation, under the cover of which conſternation ſome of the Roman ſoldiers plunged into the water, and ſo ſoon as they had got a firm footing, at the very firſt charge the enemy fled. Upon this, I muſt obſerve, that the Mexicans, who are charged with cowardice, had much more reaſon to be terrified by the cannon of the Spaniards than the Britons at the warlike implements of the Romans; however, upon Cæſar's having made good his landing, the enemy ſend hoſtages and ſue for peace, but being afterwards informed of the diſaſter which

happened to the Roman fleet, they ſurpriſed their foraging parties with a very ſuperior force, of whom ſome *few are killed, but the Britons ſoon repulſed*; they in a ſhort time after marched and attacked the fleet which had been hauled up on the ſhore, and ſurrounded by an entrenchment, but had ſcarce joined * battle with the Romans when they fled, and begged again for peace.

In Cæſar's ſecond deſcent upon Britain, the ſeventh legion attacks the ſtrong camp of the enemies, ſtorms it, drives them out of it, and had only a few men wounded, *paucis acceptis vulneribus*; upon this, the whole Britiſh confederacy, under the command of Caſſivelaunus, attack the trenches of the Romans, who made a ſally upon them, and having ſuſtained one ſhock of the legions, the enemy never appeared afterwards in a general body; Cæſar then marching farther into the country, croſſed the Thames at Coway Stakes, where the

* *Commiſſo prælio diutius noſtrorum militum impetum ferre non potuerunt.*

oppoſite

oppoſite bank was covered by Britiſh forces; here his men paſſed bearing their heads only above the water, nor did the enemy, although poſted to ſuch advantage, make a becoming reſiſtance, but were inſtantly put to flight; at the attack of the *oppidum Caſſivelauni*, a poſt very ſtrong both by nature and art, after a ſhort * diſpute they fled as before; again when Cingetorix, taking advantage of Cæſar's abſence, aſſaulted his camp, the Britons were repulſed in an inſtant, and the general was taken priſoner; upon which Caſſivelaunus, who had been choſen general on account of his acknowledged ſuperiority of talents, is deſerted by the whole confederacy, and in an abject fit of deſpair they ſubmit to Cæſar abſolutely and without any ſtipulations whatever.

From this brief detail an unprejudiced reader muſt allow that in their firſt appearance upon the great ſtage of the world, the South Britons ſeem to have

* *Pauliſper morati impetum noſtrum non ferunt.*

given

given proofs of very little more than of a giddy puſillanimity with regard to their invaders, of perfidiouſneſs and of levity with regard to each other.

CHAP IX.

What reſiſtance the Britons made by the account of Tacitus.

TACITUS, who ſeems to have the glory of Agricola his father-in-law much at heart, cannot be ſuſpected of underrating the South Britons: we will candidly examine their behaviour from his authority.——In the reign of the emperor Claudius, we find the Iceni, a numerous Britiſh tribe, at the head of a powerful confederacy; they arm, they fortify themſelves; they are attacked by Oſtorius, who had the allies only in his army, without the * ſtrength of the legions, and

* *Sine robore legionum.*

they are routed, being catched and embarraſſed by theſe very fortifications wherein they had placed their hopes of ſafety. The Brigantes are quelled the moment they riſe, and the Silures, with great numbers of their confederates, drawn up with every advantage of ſituation, woods, rocks, walls, and a river in their front, fly to the mountains* at the firſt onſet, whither they are purſued, and defeated; the wife and children of Caractacus are taken priſoners, he flies to Cartiſmunda, queen of the Brigantes, for protection, who ſends him in chains to the Roman general. But the Silures, made deſperate by a report that the Romans had reſolved to exterminate their whole nation, continue the war, more however after the manner of robbers † than of warriors, in lakes and in faſtneſſes: the death of Oſtorius rouſed their ſpirits once more; they ſometimes made an attempt to ſurprize a detached legion in its quarters,

* *Decedere barbari in juga montium.*

† *Sæpius in modum latrocinii per ſaltus, per paludes.*

but

but were always repulſed. Ten years after we find them driven by Paulinus Suetonius into the iſland of Angleſea, who paſſing his troops over the ſound, which ſeparates that Iſland from the continent of Britain, routed their army, conſiſting of men, women, children, and druids, who were drawn up on the oppoſite ſhore, and were endeavouring to ſtrike a terror into the Romans, by a ſhocking exhibition of their horrid religious ceremonies: but Roman tyranny forces the Britons once more into a general confederacy; the cunning of Praſatugus, in making Cæſar joint heir with his daughters, could not ſecure his family againſt the cruel injuries of theſe invaders; his queen Boadicea was whipped, his daughters were raviſhed by the centurions and ſoldiers; rouſed by theſe inſufferable acts of violence to a reſolution of taking a ſudden revenge, they fall upon the garriſons of London and Verulam, and maſſacre to the number of 70,000 Romans, before Suetonius had returned from his expedition: the Roman general taking with him

him the fourteenth legion with ſome auxiliaries, making, in the whole, a body of 10,000 men, fought the numerous army of the Britons, who turned their * backs at the firſt charge, and an immenſe army it muſt have been, where 80,000 were killed upon the ſpot.

When Agricola commanded in Britain, I really cannot find any thing bearing the appearance of what may be called a war, until he croſſed the river Tay; there indeed he had a nation to encounter which retained the character they had brought from Germany, (for I am of the opinion of Tacitus as to the origin of the Caledonians) genuine and unimpaired, by the enervating circumſtances; for they † *had neither cultivated fields, rich metals, nor convenient harbours for commerce to corrupt them*; there he found what kind of ‡ *men Caledonia had ſet apart for herſelf*:

* *Terga præbuere.*

† *Neque arva nobis, aut metalla, aut portus.*

‡ *Quos ſibi viros Caledonia ſepoſuit.*

theſe

theſe Caledonians ſurprized the ninth legion, fought them into the very center of their camp, and would have cut them to pieces, had not Agricola come up, moſt ſeaſonably, to their relief; they ſoon after, under their general Galgacus, engaged the Roman army at the foot of the Grampian mountains, in a cloſe and bloody battle*, where after an obſtinate reſiſtance, by the ſuperior ſkill of Agricola, and by a happy diſpoſition of 3000 horſe, this gallant people were defeated.

It cannot eſcape our obſervation, that as the Caledonians by acting in concert, by entering into ſolemn engagements with each other, by adhering to theſe engagements againſt a common enemy, had ſhewn more good ſenſe than the Britons of the ſouth, ſo did they diſplay a much higher ſpirit, than is to be met with in any of the preceding wars of this iſland. Agricola's army was compoſed of 6000 auxiliaries, and of 3000 horſe, beſide the

* *Batavi miſcere ictus, ferire umbonibus, ora fœdare.*

le-

legions; that of the Caledonians consisting of 30,000 men, there could be no great disparity of numbers. The Roman general employed every stratagem that could enter into the head of an experienced commander well acquainted with that perfection, to which the Romans had brought the military art; he sent his fleet to perplex, to intimidate, to spread an uncertain* terror all *around*, by making descents upon the enemies coasts, (from whence our great minister snatched the idea of distracting the French in the late war) yet he could not bring the Caledonians to acknowledge the sovereignty of Rome. Agricola fortified the Isthmus between Glota and Bodotria, that is between Dunbritton and Edenborough; Adrian, assuming the appearance of moderation, drew his fortification from the river Eden, in Cumberland, to the Tyne in Northumberland, giving up the country of the Meatæ, which was the space intercepted by the two walls, and the cause of contention between the Romans and Caledonians: in the

* *Magnum et incertum terrorem facere.*

the ſucceeding reign the latter were driven back by Lollius Urbicus to the barrier of Agricola, and although Severus, in his war with Fulgentius, marched to the extremity of the iſland but with a loſs of 50,000 men, yet withdrawing himſelf to the wall of Adrian, and fortifying it, he ſeems to have acknowledged that as the boundary of the Roman empire in Britain, and to be ſenſible of the great difficulty of maintaining the ſovereignty of Rome, in the diſputed country of the Meatæ. This indeed I am ſorry to remark, that the South Britons, ſo far from joining thoſe of the north in ſupport of their common liberties, from the time of Agricola (except a ſlight inſurrection of the Brigantes in the reign of Antoninus Pius) are not to be read of in any character, but in that of allies to the Romans, and this apoſtacy may be a juſt cauſe for the perſecution which they ſuffered from the North Britons, when their maſters had withdrawn themſelves from the iſland. This ſhort naration ſhews moſt clearly that the South Britons gave no proofs of a

courage

courage proportioned to the goodneſs of their climate; that richneſs of ſoil, and ſecurity of ſituation, had ſoftened them into effeminacy and irreſolution; that we have given them a credit for a bravery which it does not appear that they ever poſſeſſed; that their diſtance from Rome and their encompaſſed ſituation afforded them the moſt flattering hopes of recovering their liberties, and notwithſtanding theſe advantages, that not one of the provinces ſubmitted more patiently to the yoke of ſlavery than the province of South Britain.

CHAP. X.

How the Saxons were affected by the enervating Circumſtances.

THE degeneracy of this people was the cauſe of introducing the Saxons into the iſland: they were the original inhabitants of part of that country lying along the coaſt of the German Ocean, almoſt from the mouth of the Rhine to that of the Elbe, and of ſo brave a nature, that if honour can be conferred by the accident of deſcent, to be the poſterity of ſuch a people is undoubtedly an honour of the moſt exalted kind. I ſuppoſe them to be the people called Chauci by Tacitus; they had been long uſed to the arms of Rome; with agriculture they were well acquainted, for our terms of huſbandry being chiefly in that language, proves that they exerciſed that art as their own, and the regard which the common law ſhews to the very beaſts of the plough, as well as the favour ſhewn to the tenant in poſſeſ-

ſion,

ſion, upon a ſuppoſition of his care in cultivating the ſoil, are arguments of the high reſpect in which agriculture was held by our anceſtors: the feudal ſyſtem, upon the continent, had not arrived at its perfection when the Saxons were invited into Britain, and the tenure of gavelkind eſtabliſhed in Kent by the firſt who arrived here is farther removed from what feudal tenures came in time to be, than the tenures in the other kingdoms of the Heptarchy, which gave a general preference to primogeniture; in this crude ſtate internal happineſs was more equally provided for, but it was not ſufficiently guarded againſt external violence; that harmony, that correſpondence between the whole and its parts, which gives energy and diſpatch to publick meaſures, which in caſes of emergency concentrates the entire ſpirit and vigour of the community, was wanting; but although the fortunes of the Saxons might have been improved by their ſettlement in this iſland, their virtue I am ſure was not: in their prime of courage, they ſoon diſpoſſeſſed the poor

South Britons, and reſtrained thoſe of the north within juſt limits; but when accuſtomed for ſome time to the eaſe and plenty of the countries which they had conquered, they ſeem to have loſt their former valour; the Danes ſeized upon a great part of their country, impoſed a tax upon them, forced them to acknowledge kings of their race; the Danes, although frequently wafted over, could not exceed the Saxons in numbers, but in reality the courage of the latter was abated, their publick ſpirit was loſt, and were it not for a moſt abominable maſſacre, the Danes would have made themſelves abſolute maſters of England; a maſſacre perpetrated in breach of treaties, in violation of all laws, divine and human, of every tie both of friendſhip and of blood, ſhews to what a baſeneſs the Saxons were fallen; the Danes were invaders, ſo had the Saxons been; God hath given the whole earth to man, but no particular portion hath he allotted to any one people in ſuch ſtrict property; as to warrant the commiſſion of ſuch atrocious crimes, in maintenance of what they

they may ſuppoſe to be a right; it was not, however, untill after a long reſidence in this country that they had ſunk into this baſeneſs.

At the Norman conqueſt, a moſt extraordinary event, when the fate of a great kingdom was determined by a ſingle battle, the Saxons gave juſt grounds for cenſuring both their policy and want of firmneſs. The ſupineneſs of the Engliſh court muſt have been ſcandalous, for it appears to have had very little intelligence of continental affairs, whilſt William was ſolliciting the aſſiſtance of all the powers of Europe, except that of the king of France, whoſe dominions were to have been invaded by the emperor, if he ſhould attempt to impede the enterprize againſt England; notwithſtanding all theſe preparations, Harold had made no alliances, he had not even concluded a peace with the Danes, who never would have made a diverſion in favour of a claimant, whoſe deſign was to ſeize upon a kingdom to which they pretended a right: Philip would

have interfered, had he any proſpect of a ſteady ally in the Engliſh; the Scottiſh nation would have joined againſt theſe invaders, as appears by the aid they afterwards afforded to Edgar Atheling, and the diſcontents of Harold's brother muſt have given way to the conſiderations of family intereſt. But ſecurity and want of publick ſpirit, the reſult of a blind perſuaſion in the individual, that his own ſafety has no connection with that of the common-weal, have been always fatal to the country we ſpeak of. Wrapped up in the confidence of a ſea-environed ſituation, this gallant monarch, when William landed in Suſſex, was almoſt unprepared to meet him; his army, after the battle of Burrow Bridge, was much reduced by deſertion, being offended becauſe Harold had preſerved the Daniſh plunder from the ſoldiers, wherewith to pay them, without loading the nation with taxes; but public conſideration had little weight with a corrupt people: the perſonal bravery of the gallant monarch and his troops, at the ever memorable

battle

battle of Haſtings, was eminently conſpicuous; but to riſque all upon a ſingle action, where his reſources were ſo great, where the interpoſition of other powers, had any time been allowed, muſt have been certain, was madneſs itſelf, and had more the appearance of ill grounded deſperation, than of ſolid valour, which is often manifeſted in declining to bring matters of great importance to a ſudden iſſue, which waits to take the advantage of opportunity in order to enſure ſucceſs. That this was as compleat a conqueſt as had been ever accompliſhed, is beyond diſpute. We talk of compact; is it not abſurd to ſuppoſe that the Engliſh would have entered into a compact with the Normans, to give up all their lands, for domeſday book ſhews clearly that ſcarce any Engliſhman retained his poſſeſſions? And as for the argument againſt conqueſt drawn from the eſtabliſhment of Edward the Confeſſor's laws, is it not more probable, that the adventurers, who were rather volunteers than the vaſſals of William, finding a combination with their king

againſt the liberties of the people, to be not more their intereſt than that of the Saxons, and becoming well acquainted with the excellence of theſe laws, did inſiſt upon a revival of them?

CHAP. XI.

Some Ages after the Norman Conqueſt.

BUT the glorious reigns of our kings of the Plantagenet race preſent an hoſtile countenance to that principle which I had endeavoured to eſtabliſh from the effects of ſoil and ſituation upon the inhabitants of South Britain. I have wiſhed to convey to my reader an idea, that the temperature of our climate is favourable to the growth of every virtue, but our ſoil and ſituation are enemies to the preſervation of them, ever working to their corruption as they riſe to maturity; that if accidents, lucky events, or good poli-

cy,

cy, ſhall remove the embarraſſments of the enervating circumſtances, and reſtore to climate a freedom of acting, its genuine force will then diſcloſe itſelf, and virtue be again the characteriſtick of South Britain. What were the cauſes which reſtored this power to climate, and continued it almoſt without interruption, from the Conqueſt until the time of Henry the Seventh, I ſhall now endeavour to ſhew.

The Norman barons, from the time their anceſtors had ſeized upon the province of Neuſtria, were obliged to wage almoſt perpetual wars with the kings of France, who were piqued, and with good reaſon, at ſeeing a feudatory impoſed upon them, too proud and too powerful to be dependent upon the crown; the art of war through neceſſity was their chief ſtudy, and their wonderful atchievements in Italy and Sicily ſhew the great excellence of Norman diſcipline; by force they became maſters of England, and force was to be uſed in preſerving it; the Scotch, who had

had eſpouſed the intereſt of the Saxon royal family, were to be held in obſervation; a deſcent of the Danes was with reaſon to be apprehended; the Saxons, whom they had taken by ſurpriſe, indeed ſoon became incorporated with the victors; brave by nature as themſelves, they ſoon catched their noble ardour, and became maſters of their diſcipline. The encreaſe of territory accruing to our ſovereigns by intermarriages with the houſes of Anjou and of Aquitaine, enlarged their intercourſe with the continent, and the claims upon the entire kingdom of France, which devolved upon Edward III. in right of his mother, opening that intercourſe ſtill wider, laid a foundation for almoſt continual wars, and gave ſo bright a glow to the military ſpirit of England as to dazzle the eyes of all Europe. When the proſecution of theſe claims was at any time remitted, the great ſtruggles with the crown, the civil wars of York and Lancaſter, kept up the national attention to arms; and when theſe principal cauſes were quieſcent, the inroads from Scotland, the inſurrec-

tions

tions of the Welch, or the troubles of Ireland, conſtantly agitating the people, made them ever warlike and alert: theſe were no ſeaſons to ſit down to a luxurious enjoyment of the things the country afforded; they could not hug themſelves in the ſecurity which the ſea preſented them; ſtrong continental connections had broken their inſularity of ſituation; inattention to the ſchemes of foreign courts was ſhaken off; the want of a due information, which want had left the politicks of England, during the Saxon period, in a ſtate of groſs imperfection, was ſupplied; and theſe will, I hope, be admitted as ſufficient reaſons why England through theſe ages could not, by yielding to the circumſtances of ſoil and ſituation, ſink into the ſoft down of ſloth and luxury; ſhe was then a body healthy and athletick from temperance and exerciſe, by the abſence of which invigorating cauſes, ſhe became in ſucceeding ages languid, ſwollen, unwieldy, and diſtempered.

The civil wars of York and Lancaſter had ſo called home the attention of the Eng-

Engliſh, that Lewis XI ſeized the opportunity of rendering their re-eſtabliſhment in France impracticable for the future, for the duke of Burgundy was deſtroyed; they began to feel the influence of trade however remote, and although Henry VII was a narrow-minded, contemptible, avaricious tyrant, yet not a ſpark of their former ſpirit could his oppreſſions ſtrike out of the nation; as to the important change of property occaſioned by laws enacted in his reign, it could not as yet have operated to the humiliation of the nobles, for Oxford diſmiſſed his retainers through fear of Henry, not through want of means to ſupport them; and if the commons had acquired property, it did not add to their reſolution, for they endured the unwarrantable exactions of Dudley and Empſon with a patience unexampled in former reigns: in ſhort, ſo ſoon as peace, together with that commercial turn which Europe had then taken, had furniſhed the Engliſh with the means of indulgence and eaſe, they would not run the hazard of immediately loſing them, by attempting to

give a check to this firſt of the Tudor race; nor did the deſpotiſm of this family ariſe from any extraordinary courage in them, but from the abject ſubmiſſion of the people: and here impartiality muſt allow, that although the former active periods had kept up the courage of the Engliſh, yet did all their domeſtick contention ſpring from implicit obedience to their great barons before the battle of Eveſham, or from attachment to particular branches of the reigning family, until the diſtinction was loſt in the union of the contending houſes; it never aroſe from a juſt notion of civil liberty, which hath not the aggrandizement of barons, the pretenſions of particular families to a crown, for its concern, as the above cauſes being removed, we ſee them tamely ſubmitting to Henry VIII, the moſt bloody and brutal tyrant that ever deformed the annals of a nation; we cannot point out one well regulated effort in favour of liberty through the long courſe of his reign; the religious prejudices of a bigotted nation given up, the property of the church peaceably transferred

ferred to the crown and to a part of the laity, the fortreſſes of ſuperſtition entirely diſmantled under him and his ſucceſſor; and to prove that the nation did not ſubmit from conviction, we have only to obſerve that what was done in his and Edward's reign was immediately reverſed, with the like conſent of the people, in the reign of Mary, whoſe gloomy and horrid cruelties were ſuffered until death removed her: theſe all are marks not of national patience but of national inſenſibility. As to Elizabeth, her greateſt admirers muſt allow her to be no better than a ſenſible deſpot; ſhe had occaſion for the affection of her people, and ſhe had the addreſs to cajole them; but it is evident from what they had borne from her predeceſſors, that if ſhe had Philip for her friend, inſtead of his being her enemy, ſhe might not only have offended, but oppreſſed them with impunity: as to the boaſted glories of her reign, it is true ſhe preſerved the peace of England, but what figure would ſhe have made, if ſhe had a principal part to maintain upon the continent,

tinent, like ſome of our former monarchs? had ſhe their extenſive dominions in France to preſerve? ſhe who in the diſtracted ſtate of the French monarchy, after the death of Henry II, had not even the ſpirit of making the ſmalleſt effort for the recovery of Calais.

CHAP. XII.

The State of Engliſh Spirit under the Stuart Race.

THE reign of James was a ſeries of inſults upon a people who had taken for their king a man whom they deſpiſed, merely becauſe he was recommended by Elizabeth, who would not forſooth have her throne filled by any perſon who had not been a king; although I believe the real motive for her recommendation was to make atonement for the murder of his mother; the ſon of James, encouraged by the

the impunity of his father, was determined to purſue the ſcheme of uncontrouled kingſhip; the Engliſh beheld their laws broken through and trampled upon; their honour, as a nation, ſullied for twelve years without any marks of reſentment, unleſs we ſhould look upon the aſſaſſination of Buckingham as bearing ſome relation to the reſentments of the people. The Romans in their loweſt ſtate afforded, when the general maſs was too inanimate to reſiſt, ſome who were bold enough ſingly to revenge the injuries done to all; and let no man preſume to take from aſſaſſination its due merit, that is, when no other means are left to ſtop the progreſs of tyranny: can it be moral, or can it be truly religious to endure the enormities of a Nero or of a Domitian, until after a long and bloody exerciſe of lawleſs power, they ſhould ceaſe at length, by the tedious courſe of nature, to be the curſes of mankind; and this from an impious perſuaſion, that ſuch calamities being ſent by Heaven, we muſt wait until Heaven ſhall be pleaſed to remove them; whereas nothing can be more

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blaſphemous than to charge thoſe evils to the Almighty, of which our own vices, follies, and cowardice are the real cauſes: it is transferring the guilt from ourſelves who will endure theſe things, and from the tyrant who inflicts, to the great author of our exiſtence, which is ſurely the higheſt degree of impiety.---But to proceed, notwithſtanding the appearance of a tremenduous attack in parliament upon the miniſters of Charles, a ſpirit of manly oppoſition did not appear amongſt the Engliſh, untill their northern neighbours, impatient of oppreſſion, had marched an army againſt their common tyrant; the alacrity of the Scotch gave motion to their ponderous fellow ſubjects of the ſouth; fanaticiſm received, it propagated the impulſe, and many circumſtances concurred to bring the royal delinquent to the ſcaffold; it was an example of glorious and unparalleled enormity, and tranſmitted many good effects to poſterity: the learning, wiſdom, and firmneſs of the long parliament did open the true fountains of legiſlation, in ſpite of the narrowing

ſchemes of crafty lawyers; the feudal vaſſalage was annihilated, and by the act of navigation, the benefit of our trade was reſcued from foreigners. Such national advantages with many others we owe to theſe ſtruggles, and conſequently to the great men who conducted them; and yet muſt it be allowed, that their attacks were begun under the protection of the Scottiſh army, to which the Engliſh parliament would not ſend down their pay, (the want of which alone delayed their return to Scotland) until the king had made ſeveral conceſſions in favour of liberty, ſo conſcious were they of the importance of the Scotch to the execution of their deſigns.

Charles the Second, after a long exile and a deſpair of returning, brought home ſome reſpect for his ſubjects; he was ſtill afraid to provoke them; but ſeeing their headlong propenſity to corruption, and to the vicious licentiouſneſs of manners which he introduced and encouraged, and having judiciouſly meaſured the extent

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of what they would bear, he was pre-
paring at the time he died, or was mur-
dered, to give the laſt ſtroke to the good
old Engliſh conſtitution. His ſucceſſor
had every thing ready for compleating
the buſineſs, but his bigotry would
rouze the jealouſy of the eccleſiaſticks,
and thereby gave England the credit of
having made one feeble effort more in
favour of liberty.

CHAP. XIII.

What was the Merit of the Engliſh in the important Event of the Revolution.

WHEN James had invaded the civil and religious rights of his ſubjects, the prince of Orange, at the earneſt, but clandeſtine intreaty of the greater part of the Engliſh nobility and gentry (for they dared not to invite him openly) came over to reſcue three kingdoms, and ten millions of people, out of the hands of a weak, timid, bigotted king at the head of a ſmall army, and out of the hands of a few inconſiderable papiſts, who could have no influence except what they derived from court favour. Having landed in Devonſhire with his Dutch forces, to ſuch an extremity was the caution of the Engliſh carried, ſuch their apprehenſion of a tyrant whom they deteſted, to whom even the troops whom he paid had, upon the acquital of the biſhops, ſhewn a diſaffection, that the leading men of the kingdom for a long time delayed to join him; and

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ſuch their irreſolution, that, upon the abdication of James, who not able to get out of England, was brought back to London by the fiſhermen of Feverſham, they had almoſt repented of having called William, and deliberated whether they ſhould not receive the runaway for their king, inſomuch that William was very glad to let him eſcape: this ſure cannot be held up as the effort of a brave people, nor am I convinced, that the Dutch have not, with reaſon, looked upon this deliverance of the Engliſh from the thraldom of their oppreſſor, as a full ſatisfaction for all former obligations; and although the moderation of William hindered him from calling it a conqueſt, yet might he more reaſonably expect to hold Engliſh proteſtants in ſubjection by an army of proteſtants, far more powerful than was that of James, than James could expect to do it, with an army, officered at leaſt by papiſts. James certainly kept them in awe, and why might not William? The revolution was indeed glorious, but the whole glory belonged to our deliverer,

as we now acknowledge him, and to his army. Our long ſufferance of ill uſage is by no means a virtue; if a people is injuriouſly treated, it is puſillanimous to defer the meaſures of redreſs, and exceedingly injudicious, becauſe the more inveterate a grievance is, the greater difficulty muſt attend the removal of it: patience and long ſufferance in an oppreſſed people, quickens, ſtrengthens and brings up to maturity in the mind of a prince, the ſmalleſt ſeed of deſpotick tendency, and from being only froward, weak, and wilful, raiſes him by degrees into an obſtinate and confirmed tyrant.

William came over a brave and upright man, with the pureſt affection to the liberties of mankind; but his miniſters, and the men of influence here endeavoured to corrupt him, ſo far as his honeſt nature was capable of corruption, for their own ſelfiſh purpoſes; the debt incurred by the wars in which he was neceſſarily engaged, might have been

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eaſily diſcharged after queen Ann's laſt miniſtry had made a ſacrifice of all the fruits of his grand alliance, if the ſeveral adminiſtrations during that torpid period from the peace of Utrecht until the war of 1740, had any other view, but the amaſſing of vaſt fortunes for themſelves, and their adherents. We then learned to imitate Holland, we have donē ſo in nothing that we have not abuſed to our ruin, their funding and their taxation; but their publick œconomy, and private frugality we have reprobated entirely. Dutch taxation had its original, and continuance in the real neceſſities of the ſtate; Engliſh revenues of every kind are little more than the private property of ſucceſſive adminiſtrations, who have ſacrificed the honour and intereſt of the kingdom to their own emolument: ſuch however is the partiality of men to their native ſoil, given, I muſt ſuppoſe, in general, for good purpoſes, that they are wonderfully ſagacious in removing all blame from the body of their countrymen, charging national errors and crimes only to a part, or

to ſome other cauſe, whereby the reſt may ſtand exculpated: they tell us, that the corruption, aud want of ſpirit of an Engliſh or of a French miniſter, cannot, with juſtice, be imputed to either the French or Engliſh nation; the apology is ridiculous, nothing is more reaſonable than to make the publick character of a people, accountable for the acts of government; the people diſapproving by writing and ſpeaking of an adminiſtration, without acting to any effect, argues want of reſolution in that people, and that they will run no hazard in ſupporting what they are perſuaded is right; to ſay they would if they dare, is a tacit acknowledgement of having deſerved the contempt with which they are treated by thoſe to whom they have truſted their concerns, is rather an aggravation than an excuſe, and involves them deeply in the crimes or errors of their rulers. When nations are condemned for having made a poor reſiſtance in defence of their liberties, a want of military diſcipline, or of good policy, is pleaded in excuſe, whereas it is this very

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ignorance of the military art, of the arts of national ſelf-preſervation, that we condemn; for ſuch ignorance is not neceſſarily impoſed upon them, it is not invincible, and is therefore imputable to them as a crime; ſome nations have ſtruck out theſe arts, and why may not others? The Romans did not borrow from the Grecian phalanx, they invented the legion, but wherever they obſerved any thing worthy of imitation, neither vanity nor obſtinacy could hinder them from adopting it. The Batavians, almoſt as ſoon as they knew the arms of Rome, ſtudied their diſcipline, formed the cohort, and were almoſt invincible; but the Gauls, through a ten years war with the greateſt general of the age, never could put the Roman military art in practice: the ſame may be ſaid of the South Britons, whereas the Highlanders arm in the Roman manner to this very hour, with the addition of the firelock at the firſt charge, and laying artillery out of the caſe, I am convinced, with equal courage and ſtrength, that troops, armed

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in that manner, muſt be victorious. It is pretended that a want of intercourſe with civilized nations, cuts them off from knowledge; let us purſue this thought: the Romans learned from the Greeks, the Greeks derived their arts and ſciences from the Egyptians, we muſt come at length to ſome one nation or other, which ſelf-inſtructed hath tranſmitted their lights to others; and until we find that the Egyptians, or whichever was that firſt informed nation, were ſo favoured as to receive this neceſſary art of ſelf-preſervation from heaven, I muſt condemn the ſupineneſs of thoſe who, conſidering how little difference there is between the faculties of the various nations of the earth, have neglected to poſſeſs themſelves, at leaſt of thoſe arts, which furniſh the means of defending their lives and liberties.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

State of national Self-Preſervation in Britain.

IT being clear that the bravery of ſuch a nation as ours is inverſely as the power which the enervating effects of ſoil and ſituation is permitted to exerciſe over its people, it is no leſs certain that the bravery of ſuch a nation may degraduate into rank cowardice: to ſay the Engliſh are fallen ſo low would be unjuſt, and to deny that they are much beneath the ſame key of real courage, at which they formerly were, would be truly ridiculous. The luſtre of the late war will be urged to the contrary; but there are many reaſons why the entire credit of the war ſhould not be given to Engliſh bravery. Its ſucceſs was, in a great meaſure, owing to the extraordinary expence attending it, by which it was ſo perfectly ſerved in every quarter of the globe; it was owing to the extenſive

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genius of the man who planned its operations; it was owing to the great numbers of Germans, of Scotch, of Iriſh, and of Americans, who ſerved in our fleets and armies, paid indeed by Engliſh money, but Engliſh money is neither Engliſh ſtrength nor courage: if we add to theſe conſiderations the wretched incapacity of the French miniſtry, under the direction of a weak woman, the war, on their ſide, ſtrangled in its very birth by the want of an immediate conjunction of the houſes of Bourbon, the one diſabled before the other moved, which could then do little more than give additional ſplendor to the triumphs of Britain; theſe things conſidered, from the uncommon luſtre of the war we ſpeak of, a ſuperior courage of the preſent Engliſh, to their courage at former periods, cannot by any means be inferred, nor even an equality.

Europe ſeems to have a ſtrong tendency into ſtates of a reſpectable ſize, and however ſalutary this may be to the purpoſes of general tranquillity, I ſhall be par-

pardoned if, from the love I bear to my own country, I ſhould wiſh that no powerful prince may be able to poſſeſs himſelf of thoſe ports which lie upon the German ocean; becauſe ſuch a neighbour muſt be dangerous to this part of the iſland, which never was attacked by a northern people without being ſubdued. The Normans had ſuch a contempt for the people of Neuſtria, that they would not be called, but by their old name, and I conſider them as a northern people at the conqueſt; ſince that time, no enemy out of Britain, of a ſituation more northern than ourſelves, hath attempted us; the French and Spaniards were inferior in ſtrength of body and in courage; of their numbers our ſituation prevented them from availing themſelves; the French never gave marks of an enterprizing ſpirit beyond the limits of the Rhine, and the inhabitants of this iſland have a preſcriptive right of ſuperiority over thoſe of Gaul *, the only praiſe as I recollect which the ancients have

* *Plus tamen ferociæ Britanni præferunt.*

given

given them; but had we a northern prince for our enemy, maſter of that number of ſhips which muſt naturally attend a well regulated trade to the ports in the German ocean, and of thoſe great rivers which, running through Germany, diſcharge themſelves into that ocean; of men who feel not the terrors of any element, who living poorly at home, may be ſtimulated, like their brave anceſtors, to ſhare in the ſpoils of a richer and more cultivated country than their own; ſhould this prince look with a mixture of indignation and of contempt upon a people, who prized themſelves for an imaginary wealth, a ſhadowy credit, chilled at the moſt diſtant ſound of the blaſt of calamity, an apparition, which, upon the firſt rough touch, is found to be unſubſtantial; if he ſhould ſeize the opportunity of attacking this people, how ſhould England be protected? The all-ſufficiency of the Britiſh fleet preſents itſelf forthwith to the imagination of my indolent and high-fed countrymen, miraculouſly ſurrounding a coaſt of two thouſand miles;

upon this they beſtow omnipreſence, and every attribute of the Deity; upon this they reſt ſecure in the gratification of every ſenſe, and in the practice of almoſt every vice. I affirm that no expedition has been ever conducted againſt this country with any degree of wiſdom, or even of plauſibility, which did not ſucceed; ſince the Conqueſt that of Philip the ſecond of Spain was the moſt tremenduous in its apparatus, but this expedition could not ſucceed; the alarm of invaſion was ſpread ſo long before the embarkation, that every man in England had time to become a ſoldier; and when the army was embarked, the proceſſion of the Spaniſh fleet along our ſouthern coaſt, in order to take on board the prince of Parma and his troops then waiting at Dunkirk, was ſo very ſlow, and pompous, that every Engliſh port and creek ſent out its whole force to annoy them, ſo that they were expoſed to the increaſe of enemies every moment, as well as to the dangers of a tempeſtuous ſea; nor is it to be forgotten that the Spaniards from the influx of American riches were at this time

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departed from their rigour of diſcipline, and had much abated of their former valour; let not therefore the impracticability of invading England be drawn from the failure of ſuch random expeditions, if expeditions they can be called, which are embarraſſed by ſuch blundering delays.

I am well convinced that the chief military ſtrength of this nation ought to be that of our fleet; but fleets have failed, fleets may fail, and will fail again; nothing is more natural than that the wind, which is favourable to the invading fleet, may keep the fleet that ſhould oppoſe it in harbour: when Allectus poſſeſſed himſelf of the province of Britain and was maſter of the ſeas, Conſtantine ſailed over, under the cover of a thick miſt, and landing his troops overcame the uſurper; the prince of Orange landed his army at Brixham in Torbay, having paſt the Engliſh fleet then lying in the Downs; but nothing proves the inſufficiency of a fleet ſo forcibly, as the tranſportation

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of Cæſar's army from Brunduſium to Dyrrachium in his purſuit of Pompey, at two embarkations: although the coaſt of Epirus was guarded by a much ſuperior naval force, under the command of Bibulus * and Pompey's other lieutenants, an army was landed with the loſs of only two tranſports, ſufficient to decide the greateſt conteſt for empire that time hath yet produced: much will be attributed of Cæſar's ſucceſs to fortune; Cæſar himſelf hath attributed much to that goddeſs, in the ſecond embarkation under Antony; but good troops, good officers, and the terrifying diſpatch with which that great deſtroyer of Roman liberty animated all his military operations, are to me ſufficient cauſes for his ſucceſs, without any interpoſition of fortune.

In theſe circumſtances of Europe, where the ſmall German ſtates, whoſe troops we were uſed to pay, are probably ſoon to be annexed to great

* *Stationes littoraque omnia longe lateque claſſibus occupavit.* Cæs.

monarchies, and no longer to be hired out for ſlaughter; when the French, unequal to Britain in commercial conteſt, are willing to leave us without a rival, and give no interruption to our eagerneſs for remote, unnatural acquiſitions; we ourſelves ſhould bridle that avarice which is waſting our vigour in the burning heats of India, and leaving the center of the empire without defence: whilſt other ſtates are ſtrengthening themſelves at home, England is ſending forth her ſtrength, and bringing home the materials of her own deſtruction; but, as I have obſerved before, we ſhall probably have the French and Spaniards no longer for our enemies, who having ſubmitted in the conteſt of trade, no ſubject of diſpute now remains, unleſs we ſhould renew our old claims upon the French monarchy; with ſome northern nation or confederacy, therefore, we are likely to contend for the future, againſt whom hardineſs, ſtrength, courage and publick ſpirit will be neceſſary, which afford a more certain protection than either fleets or armies without them.

them. Let us now ſee in what condition we are to receive ſuch encounters as we have reaſon to expect; but in diſcuſſing this matter, I ſhall not enter into a ſtate of the national debt, the amount of our revenue, nor enquire what ſums can be ſpared to the ſupport of armies and of fleets, by the mercenary vultures, who have ſo long preyed upon the vitals of their country, I mean placemen and penſioners of every denomination; but I will aſk what ſtock of national virtue remains wherewith to oppoſe a brave and an enterprizing people, for we ſhall be then engaged in wars which it will be impoſſible to carry on by bills of exchange.

CHAP. XV.

Nobles. Gentry.

THERE is not a country in Europe, except England, where the nobility hath not at all times produced men, whoſe talents, as well military as civil, have been uſeful to the people; in England no perſon, born in that rank, hath, during this century, been found capable of commanding a great army: this did not proceed from a deficiency of wars in which we had a concern, or from want of genius, nature having ſcattered the ſeeds of genius pretty equally in all ages, and through every rank of life, but to the luxury and ſupineneſs, generally incident to that order, in our nation. In foreign courts a manly and heroic deportment opens the avenues to favour and preferment, but in England, a vote for adminiſtration ſupplies the want of every virtue, and of every accompliſhment; ſome few indeed,

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not of the mere nobility, but of thoſe who have riſen from the degree of commoners to that rank, have approved themſelves able ſtateſmen, and deep philoſophers; but the reſt are either firſt dupes, and then ſharpers at play, aukward mimicks of French manners, or affected inſipid admirers of the *virtù*: ſuch is that order of men, which, by great and ſuperior emoluments enjoyed in community, are bound by the moſt powerful ties, to ſtand foremoſt in the breach of danger, and to animate the body of the people by precept and example. Some pretenſions they have of rendering to ſociety one advantage only, I mean that of ſpending their fortunes amongſt the people; and yet even this is done in ſuch a manner, that we can ſcarce thank them for it. I do confeſs, ſince they are poſſeſſed of large eſtates, that an accumulation of their wealth would be of bad conſequence; but muſt inſiſt, that the modes they have choſen of ſcattering their wealth, are of all others which could be imagined, the moſt detrimental to ſociety: of gameſters they are

the kind patrons, and the bright examples; and I verily believe, that many a wretch hath quitted the plain honeſt road of profeſſion and turned gambler, from the vain motive of keeping what he calls good company, that is, the company of lords: ſuch is their encouragement of horſe-racing and cock-fighting, the moſt baneful kinds of gaming, becauſe moſt open to the trading, farming, uſeful, parts of the people, that they imitate the language, the manner, and the very dreſs of their menial aſſiſtants in theſe diverſions, and their ſuperfluity in the article of ſervants is ſuch a drain from the general fund of labourers, manufacturers, and ſeamen, ſuch a lazy dead incumbrance upon the proviſions of the kingdom, that I know not ſo great a national nuiſance as their ſupernumerary lacqueys, nor any luxury ſo deſerving of being the object of taxation, and which we nevertheleſs muſt deſpair of ever ſeeing taxed; their expences in ſupporting an influence in electing members of the lower houſe, although precluded by the ſacred rules of

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our conſtitution, from interfering, aſſiſt powerfully in diſperſing their wealth; and hence it is that this branch of legiſlature takes its complexion from the upper one. In the Houſe of Commons ſcarce fifty members can be produced who really repreſent their conſtituents, who are returned to parliament upon the conſtitutional ground of confidence and of affection, ariſing from a perſonal knowledge of abilities and integrity; the reſt either owe their ſenatorial exiſtence to miniſterial creation, or are the abject dependants of powerful lords, and of rich Aſiatick upſtarts, who glory in putting their king under the conſtraint of beſtowing places and penſions upon their followers, that is, of paying their ſervants wages; and when any of theſe vaſſals becomes notorious by his petulance and noiſe in the houſe, make the inſolent boaſt, of having brought him into parliament, feeling almoſt as much delight in ſeeing him outſtrip the hackneys of other lords in impudent ſcurrility, as they would in winning an hollow match at Newmarket.

The greater part however of the old eſtabliſhed Engliſh gentry being at this day excluded from the Houſe of Commons, we, at firſt ſight, ſhould be inclined to acquit them of every part of what is imputed to the reſt; but this we cannot do with juſtice, becauſe conſidering, that the larger part of the national property is ſtill out of the poſſeſſion of the members of the two houſes, it is certain, that was the influence naturally attending ſuch a preponderancy in favour of the excluded gentry, under an honeſt, ſpirited, conſtitutional direction, it would change the face of publick affairs, and give the people a fair repreſentation; but it is otherwiſe, and from the feeble oppoſition to the invaſion of the counties, cities, and boroughs of the kingdom, it is plain, that this part of the gentry have either made a ſcandalous ſale of their intereſt to thoſe invaders, or reſigning all pretenſion to repreſentation themſelves, have tamely ſubmitted to be the humble inſtruments of raiſing a parcel of court ſycophants and ſharpers to the honours of le-

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giſlation; and what is extremely farcical, that not having the courage to make a manly reſiſtance, in order to cover their want of ſpirit, they belye their own judgment, and affecting an entire approbation of every miniſterial meaſure, declare themſelves of the court ſide as if upon deliberate conviction.

Superior property impoſes upon thoſe who poſſeſs it in ſociety, the ſolemn obligation of thinking and of acting in the higher departments in order to procure a ſafe enjoyment of the reaſonable comforts of life for the lower ranks of people, in conſideration of their labour and induſtry, which ſupports the whole: wiſdom and foreſight ought to reſult from their leiſure, and the fruits of them belong to the people. But the gentry of England have been remarkably remiſs in this reſpect; the abolition of military tenures hath diſcharged the nobility, and thoſe who are ſeized of great fees, from bodily ſervices, from being expoſed to the dangers of war; a land-tax is all they ſuffer at preſent, if

they can be ſaid to ſuffer, in whoſe favour there is ſo viſible a partiality. The weight of a tax is not to be eſtimated by the ſum paid by an individual, but by the manner in which the payment of this ſum is felt. If a tax of two ſhillings in the pound deprives one man of the comforts of life, leaving to another its ſuperfluities, the latter in effect is not taxed at all; ſo that two ſhillings is heavier upon the man of ſmall eſtate, than ten ſhillings upon another of a large one, who ſhould not raiſe himſelf above the former, for having contributed more than he has done to the exigences of ſociety; but ought to recollect that he hath alſo more property under the protection of that ſociety; and yet in contempt of all theſe powerful motives to patriotiſm, ſo far from employing their fortunes, their talents, their induſtry, for the publick weal, by the influence of their bad example, and by the baneful miſapplication of their wealth, our gentry are labouring to ſubvert a glorious conſtitution, and to deſtroy the morals of their fellow ſubjects.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

THE PEOPLE.

WE will now look into the condition of the people, and ſee what may be expected from them in caſe of real danger; whether their deplorable ſtate be owing to their natural propenſity to vice, or to the neglect of thoſe whoſe wiſdom, learning, and genius ſhould have checked the force of thoſe enervating circumſtances, which I have ſo often mentioned.

Some vices are at maturity long before the man; ſo nature produces monſters of perfect enormity even at their birth; theſe do not belong to England; the greater number of our vices are generated by bad example, foſtered into adult and confirmed habits by the means which fortune beſtows of feeding them, and by the encouragement of impunity, which the villainy or the indolence of the magiſtrate affords. The vicious of the firſt claſs are leſs

hurtful to ſociety, becauſe their example is rather ſhocking than alluring; they are ſoon ſevered from the community by the laws; the effects of their vices are neither permanent, nor extenſive: but vices of the other claſs are inſinuating, and therefore dangerous; they ſteal into the whole body, corrupt by inſenſible degrees, until at length they deſtroy it. I will undertake to prove, that the authoritative licentiouſneſs of our ſecond Charles, and of his court, cauſed greater and more general evil to this kingdom, than all the murderers and robbers ſince his reign; the one, a violent poiſon, is immediately felt, detected, and expelled by skill and attention; the other creeps into the whole maſs, under the ſly ſemblance of good, and, before it can be detected, hath worked its fatal purpoſe. Luxury in low life may be defined, whatever exceeds its decent neceſſaries, and its uſeful recreations; every thing beyond this, in eating, in drinking, in amuſement, or in dreſs, muſt be luxury; as to eating and drinking, however ſingular I may appear amidſt a general

outcry

outcry of a ſcarcity of proviſions, I declare myſelf of opinion, that my countrymen are rather pampered than ſtarved; proviſions are dear, not ſcarce; all find means to ſupply themſelves, except the lazy, or thoſe whoſe hard fate it is to want health. It is evident from the numbers of Scotch, Welch, Iriſh, and foreigners, who are crowding into England, that they muſt live better here than at home; and although the prices of things are higher amongſt us, that more money is to be had here to anſwer theſe higher prices. But the under claſſes of mankind have taken at leaſt one ſtep above their natural places; the labourer and manufacturer, in the matter of expence, have got into the places of the farmer, and of the retailer; the farmer and retailer into thoſe of the landlord and of the merchant: inſtead of ſtrong beer ſometimes, animal food once in the twenty-four hours, ſpirituous liquors are now added to an almoſt conſtant uſe of ſtrong beer, and without fleſh at every meal, our common people are unhappy. Let any man conſider the numberleſs

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beer-houſes of this city; nay, he ſhall find the very porters diſdaining to wait for a call in the ſtreets; they are ſeated in their own coffee-houſes until ſent for, and get more in a day than a good ſubaltern's pay, for walking about the town upon eaſy errands. This is in a lower degree the caſe in all the cities and large towns in the kingdom, for they will imitate the metropolis, in play-houſes, and in every other extravagance; but it is with more reſerve, becauſe they have better magiſtrates. I am not ſo rigid as not to bear with an accidental intemperance, which will ſometimes catch the individuals of this claſs; it is the habit of intemperance I would proſcribe, which muſt deprive them of the ſpirits and agility ſo neceſſary to the diſcharge of their duty, through their ſeveral trades and occupations: I would have them capable of enduring fatigue and hard living, ſhould any heavy calamity fall upon them by war or otherwiſe, from which no nation under heaven can preſume to be exempt; nor would I have them ſo entirely addicted to eaſe

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and the gratification of appetite, as through an unmanly impatience, like the nations of Aſia, haſtily to ſubmit, upon the firſt diſaſter, to the terms of an invader. An Engliſh porter conſumes within the ſpace of one day what would ſupport a German for a week; and my prejudices will not miſlead me to ſuch a degree, as to look upon an Engliſhman as either a braver or a better man than a German: if we ground our title to luxury upon the virtue or bravery of our anceſtors, upon the ſtrong, but not impenetrable, barrier of the ſea, I ſhould aſk, what connexions had the Romans in the reign of Claudius, with the virtues of Camillus, and of his cotemporaries? whether they will be able to maintain this ſuperiority of living? how miſerable they muſt be when compelled to relinquiſh it? and whether the very exceſs which they contend for, will not, within a ſhort time, diſable them from maintaining it?

Nor are the amuſements of the common people leſs expenſive, nor leſs hurtful

ful to their morals; our theatres (and we muſt obſerve that the dominion of Theſpis is ſpread over the whole iſland) in their preſent condition, are far from being a proper amuſement for the undiſcerning ranks of ſociety: our late comedies, being little more than cold tranſlations from the French, cannot convey moral inſtruction to the common people; the inſtructions they contain, are couched in ſuch ſhort obſcure ſentiments, that the vulgar may as eaſily comprehend the golden verſes of Pythagoras; and vicious characters again are ſo amiably depicted by the dramatick writers of the laſt age, as to make a very dangerous impreſſion upon the mind of the uneducated parts of the audience, who taking every thing at the firſt view, and drawing no precept through the channel of reflection, go home rather delighted, than diſguſted, with a Macheath, a Belmour, and a Pierre. It is for thoſe of more refined underſtandings, to make the proper uſe of the repreſentation of ſuch characters, to conceive of them in the light they deſerve, and in that which

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the authors wiſhed to have them conſidered: the leaſt noxious effect of theſe entertainments upon the common people, is, that they expend idly three or four hours of an evening, which may be much more profitably or innocently employed; it is in the power of legiſlature to exclude the common people, without ſhutting the theatres or prohibiting any particular plays; they may raiſe the price of theſe exhibitions by impoſing a tax. Good and well acted plays are an article of refined pleaſure, and ought to be well paid for; ſo far from diſcouraging the ſtage, this would do it the higheſt ſervice, by diſcharging writers of genius from their preſent conſtraint, from the fear of hurting the morals of the people, and from the tribute which both writer and actor have been too long compelled to pay to their want of taſte; at all events, the doors of the upper gallery ſhould be for ever cloſed; its honeſt cuſtomers would ſoon forget their play thing, they would be ſoon brought back to their manly exerciſes, innocent games and recreations, in

which their anceſtors had ſo much delight; they would be too much fatigued to think of waiting out the end of a ſenſeleſs pantomime entertainment, and their health and vigour would be revived. The common people of Athens were ruined by their theatres and demagogues; by theſe they were made turbulent, idle, ſelf-ſufficient, and corrupt: nothing without the walls of Athens deſerved their ſmalleſt regard; give them their entertainments, and leave the world to Philip. Can we ſuppoſe that the mob of Athens, however celebrated for their penetration and wit, were capable of drawing the juſt moral from the diſtreſſes of Œdipus, *a reſignation to thoſe evils which Providence will permit, for wiſe purpoſes, to fall ſometimes upon the innocent, as well as the guilty?* by no means; a people who could bear to ſee their Socrates murdered by a perverſion of law, for having entertained and made publick his worthy notions of a Deity, were incapable of drawing ſuch a moral; and the upper gallery of Athens would be rather inclined to charge their

gods

gods with injuſtice, for plunging ſo guiltleſs a man as Oedipus into ſuch a gulph of miſery; they would correct them for not having undeceived him with regard to his father and mother, as the Portugueſe are ſaid to whip their tutelar ſaint, when any thing goes amiſs.

As to the claſs immediately above the labourer and manufacturer, I mean the retailer and farmer, we ſcarce can conceive the idea of a more inſolent and luxurious ſet of men, treading upon the heels of our gentry in every faſhionable folly, and emulating them in the practice of every vice; they are the ſupport of horſe-racing, bagnios, taverns, and of gaming clubs; and the unreaſonable profit they exact, without which they could not afford this impudent extravagance, is become an heavier tax upon the people, who muſt buy from them, than thoſe which are paid to the ſtate; ſo that to the evils which they have brought upon their country, by their lazineſs and effeminacy, they have added the galling

burden of their luxuries: to theſe men, the indulgence of every folly and of every paſſion is become actually an abſolute neceſſary of life, and they will obtain it at the riſque of credit, and of every thing an honeſt mind ſhould hold moſt dear. This may ſerve as an outline of the preſent ſtate of Engliſh morals; but to finiſh the picture, a ſhort attendance at Sir John Fielding's office will be neceſſary; murder, robbery, burglary, ſodomy, and every vice which could diſgrace the police of Naples, are here ready mixed for filling up the canvaſs, not one of which, as I ſaid before, belong to England, but are produced by cauſes to be hereafter mentioned.

Humani generis mores tibi noſſe volenti
Sufficit una domus. ——— JUV.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

The Author's Reaſons and Apology for his Severity.

THERE is nothing more baneful to the proſperity of an individual than flattery, which follows it nevertheleſs as its ſhadow: he who is prevailed upon to entertain too high an opinion of his own abilities, by as much as he hath overrated himſelf, by ſo much will he be found leſs capable in the hour of trial, becauſe his caution and his application muſt abate in the very ſame proportion that the prepoſſeſſion in his own favour increaſes. This truth applies to kingdoms and ſtates, with as much exactneſs as it does to perſons; and the lighteſt reflection upon the accounts of nations will diſcover, that not proſperity alone, but the poiſonous ſelf-adulation which is ſuffered to attend it, hath been in general their ruin.

The Athenians, a moſt conceited people, whoſe city Cicero has honoured with the praiſe of being *omnium doctrinarum inventrices*, but with how much reaſon, I am greatly at a loſs, for mathematicks, phyſick, and natural hiſtory have received greater improvements from Grecians, who were by no means natives of Athens; this city however, becauſe ſhe had a conſiderable ſhare in a ſucceſsful war againſt the effeminate Perſians, becauſe ſhe took the lead for a ſhort time amongſt the petty diſtricts of Greece, and was of ſome little diſtinction at an early age, before the nations of Europe could feel their ſtrength, would not be perſuaded that Philip could preſume to enſlave them; but through that exceſs of confidence, their liberties were deſtroyed. The Carthaginians, elated by the ſucceſs of their illuſtrious Hannibal, were too haſty in deſpiſing their enemy, and left that great man to carry on the war for many years, unſupported by them, in an enemy's country; and yet foreſeeing the occaſion there muſt have been for ſupplies,

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he had even pointed out to them the method of conveying them, by the ſhape which he gave to the war, after his great victories; for failing in his attempt upon Neapolis, he ſeized the ports of Bruttium and Calabria, for the very purpoſe of a communication with Carthage; and as to his not having attempted Rome, that hackneyed ſubject of cold declaimers, who thought themſelves competent judges of Hannibal's own war, all muſt acquit him who conſider, that after the battle of Thraſymene, he was repulſed even from before * Spoletum, and that through a march from Spain to Italy, which laſted five months, it was impoſſible to carry the engines and proper apparatus for carrying on ſieges of any difficulty: in truth, national ſelf-ſufficiency hath proved the reaſon why many modern kingdoms in Europe, after riſing by their conſtancy and fortitude to glory, have dropt almoſt

* *Cum magna cæde ſuorum repulſus, conjectans ex unius coloniæ haud nimis proſpere tentatæ viribus, quanta moles Romanæ urbis eſſet, in agrum Picenum avertit iter.* Liv. lib. xxii.

on the moment they had reached the ſummit, into mere inſignificancy, as if fatigued with greatneſs, and willing to reſign to others, as well the honour as the toil. Spain, France, Sweden, and England, I fear, have all had their turns.

The ſtrictures which have been made in the courſe of theſe obſervations, upon that ſtrong biaſs to degeneracy, which governed thoſe nations who have ſucceſſively inhabited South Britain, will, I fear, grate too harſhly upon thoſe ſoft ears, which delight in being tickled by conſtant accounts of the inflexible virtue of anceſtry; for ſome are fond to be perſuaded of our being ſo choſen a people, that the ſafety and happineſs of England are placed beyond the ſtroke of fortune; but it is the duty of him who would be rather uſeful than pleaſing, who would rather cure than palliate, to adminiſter ſuch wholeſome ſeverity, and ſhew to the patient his real danger, that he may be excited to give his aſſiſtance to nature, and to medicine, in the arduous task of reſtoring himſelf to health. My pur-

poſe

poſe hath been to give my countrymen a ſurvey of their defects, defects to which they are ſubjected, as inhabitants of a region moſt ſingularly peculiarized; I would hold their weak ſide up to their cloſeſt view, becauſe if any thing will keep them always watchful, this muſt do it; in ſhort I wiſh to ſee them draw example from their fellow ſubjects of the north, and work themſelves up to that ineſtimable political virtue, called public ſpirit; I wiſh to ſee the Engliſh follow their neighbours in that indiſſoluble union of weight, of intereſt, of influence, and even of prejudices, which, after a ſteady unremitting purſuit through many ages, hath at length given to that ſenſible people, the real dominion of the Britiſh empire. It is far from my intentions to awaken the ſmalleſt jealouſy between natives of the ſame iſland, the ſubjects of the ſame king; I deſire to rouſe the inhabitants of the ſouth to ſuch an exertion of talents, as to deſerve, by a palpable capability of ſervice, their natural ſhare in the confidence of their ſovereign, and in the

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employments which the crown beſtows: nor have I the moſt diſtant wiſh, whatever may be my partiality to the Engliſh, unleſs they are already capable, or ſhall hereafter approve themſelves ſo, to ſee them enjoy thoſe things to which without merit no ſubject hath a juſt title. The Scotch have obtained, by their diſcernment, their firmneſs, and by their happy addreſs, that which the ſmallneſs of their numbers had made impoſſible to be procured by force; they are in a fair way of getting entire poſſeſſion of the national ſword, in ſpite of the balance of property ſo ſtrongly againſt them; and indeed there is but one inſtance more in hiſtory, where the powers, civil and military, have been lodged in the hands of men, who had not the ſmalleſt property in the country; the Egyptians buried in luxury and in effeminacy, lived comfortably nevertheleſs, cultivating their own lands, and following their reſpective trades and occupations for a long ſeries of years, under the government of the Ma-

malukes,

malukes, a brave army of foreigners; and if the period is arrived, at which the Engliſh are pronounced to be fitter for arts than for arms, it is their great happineſs to be under the protection of a people, who, born in the ſame iſland, muſt always treat them with tenderneſs and with regard.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Drunkenneſs, Lewdneſs, Taxation, Magiſtracy.

THE ſtrong pre-diſpoſition in my countrymen to corruption being pleaded, I hope with ſucceſs, in excuſe of my harſh manner of treating this ſubject, I ſhall proceed in pointing out the two grand ſources of danger to England, profligacy at home, and the want of circumſpection abroad.

The wiſdom of the few ought to be the bleſſing of the many; inſtead of this, I have ſhewn the wickedneſs or folly of the few, to be the curſe of the many; their foul example contaminates even to the loweſt mechanick, and although the peer does not converſe with him, ſtill through a proper medium of ſubordinate ranks the infection is conveyed; the indulgence of their own paſſions may appear to them a ſubſtantial

ſtantial reaſon, for being thus actively hurtful to ſociety, but where there can be no temptation, why will they be paſſively miſchievous? why tamely ſuffer thoſe excellent laws which could not affect their pleaſures, laws framed by our anceſtors, who wiſely foreſaw how neceſſary they would be in ſuch a country as ours, to lie proſtrate and unexecuted? To enter into an examination of the multitude of vices which are permitted, without ſhame or fear, to ſtalk abroad through this great city, would ſwell this work into a volume; I will therefore only touch upon one or two of the leading vices, from which others ſhoot forth without number and without meaſure.

Drunkenneſs has at preſent ſuch a prevalence amongſt the common people, and is ſo fatal in its conſequences, that it may be juſtly called the vice of England; it purſues an Engliſhman through every region of the world, as the ſweating diſeaſe is ſaid to have done, in the reign of Henry the VIIth; amidſt the vanities

of Paris, amidſt the elegancies of Rome, the real gratification of an Engliſhman is always ſenſual; even our gentry, who do ſo inſult us upon their return from the continent, with their *virtù* and the *bon ton*, are well known to dedicate, whilſt abroad, the greater part of their time and fortunes to burgundy, and to the Opera girls. To this potent vice the highwayman ſtands indebted for his courage; liquor rouſes him to an inſenſibility of danger, to live in a ſtate of declared warfare with the whole world, and to brave undauntedly the terrors of the gallows. But its power is beſt diſplayed over the other ſex; it ſupports and at length confirms poor weak irreſolute woman, in a wretched courſe of ſin and of profligacy, at which, in her ſober unintoxicated moments, her tender and delicate nature ſhudders and is appalled; by the aid of liquor, ſhe can endure the exactions of bawds, of bullies, and of pimps; ſhe looks defiance at the miſeries of ſpunging houſes, of gaols, of dungeons; and faces, with a frantick deſpair,

ſpair, the horrors of diſeaſe, of poverty, and of death. The lawleſs enjoyment of woman is one of the ſtrongeſt incentives with the idle and abandoned members of community, to run every riſque for procuring the means of purchaſing it: whatever, therefore, increaſes the number of theſe unhappy creatures, who make a traffick of their favours, muſt increaſe the number of robbers, felons of all denominations, and of cheats and ſharpers of every rank whatſoever. Drunkenneſs then being the grand pillar of robbery and of proſtitution, it cannot be denied that the wiſdom of the nation ought, with the utmoſt diligence, to put this baneful intemperance beyond the reach of the common people. Shall the honeſt liberty of queſtioning and endeavouring to controul the unconſtitutional attempts of miniſterial inſtruments be put under the moſt ſevere and heavy reſtrictions, whilſt the horrid licentiouſneſs of plunging into every vice, which can be ruinous to a nation, is connived at and hereby encouraged?

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In a well regulated ſtate, taxation ſhould undoubtedly fall upon luxury alone: the primary uſe of taxation ſhould be, if poſſible, to prevent luxury; the ſecondary one, is to draw in caſe of the impracticability of entire prevention, and of ſupporting at the ſame time the liberty of the individual, to derive, I ſay, from that luxury, ſome advantages to the ſtate, to extract ſome real good from the allowed exiſtence of an evil; ſuppoſing then, in our refined age, the permiſſion of political evil to be abſolutely neceſſary, wiſdom would certainly make that evil fall where it ſhould be leaſt detrimental; it ſhould pale it in if poſſible, nor ſuffer it to have the whole range of ſociety; luxury ſhould be raiſed above the ſight of the common people; they ſhould be treated by legiſlature, as children in the houſe of their parent, and every thing hurtful be put out of their way, not like ſtrangers in a tavern who may have what pleaſes them, provided they pay for it; to ſay that if they will indulge in what is pernicious to themſelves, they muſt pay

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the ſtate for ſo doing, is telling us plainly, that the common people may purchaſe a licence for deſtroying the only ſolid ſupport of that ſtate, the virtue, the health, and the induſtry of at leaſt ninety-nine out of an hundred of thoſe individuals of which that ſtate is compoſed; but revenue muſt be ſupported, ſays the able financier the diſciple of Mandeville, and if the drunkenneſs and diſſipation of the people be retrenched, the revenues will in conſequence be leſſened: I allow the inference; the kingdom however cannot ſuffer, but muſt receive advantage by ſuch a diminution, becauſe the neceſſity of revenue muſt be diminiſhed in a much greater proportion; drunkenneſs and diſſipation being baniſhed, the people demeaning themſelves ſoberly and peaceably, no pretenſions for keeping up a ſtanding army can be taken from the purpoſes of ſupporting the civil magiſtrate, nor can it be ſuppoſed that any foreign power would dare to inſult a people, thus armed at all points with courage and virtue; but the ſupreme advantage which muſt naturally

ariſe from this diminution of revenue, would be the annihilation of the numberleſs burthenſome appointments maintained under colour of collecting thoſe revenues, but in reality to feed a mercenary miniſterial band; ſo that in truth the ſole loſs would fall upon placemen and upon penſioners, for whoſe ſake it ſeems the people are to be indulged, in ale-houſes, brothels, play-houſes, ſhews, ſkittle grounds, and in the many other allurements to vice and idleneſs, which almoſt fill up, and totally environ this overgrown metropolis.

And here I ſtand forth boldly to arraign the magiſtracy of this nation, which hath ſhewn itſelf incompetent and unworthy of its ſacred and important charge; let us look into theſe reverend authors of our ancient law, who have deſcribed the office of an Engliſh juſtice of the peace; there we ſhall ſee the excellent underſtanding, good education, reſpect amongſt the people ariſing from fortune, integrity, and from family, which were required in

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that man, to whom the law did intruſt the morals of its people; compare the graceful portrait which our books have preſented of this officer, candid, humane, active, learned, and inflexible, with the modern exhibition of corrupt, partial, uninformed, hackneyed figures in town, or with the groſs indolent dawbs of the country; a Middleſex juſtice is proverbially infamous, his office is an office of reproach, and is given to ſupport ſome indigent *profligate*, ſome outcaſt of profeſſion; his perquiſites multiply by the increaſe of wickedneſs, every new rogue and whore is an addition to his income, and he flouriſhes by the decay, both of virtue and of religion; can we ſuppoſe that a creature thus circumſtanced can entertain a wiſh, tending to the diſcouragement, or to the ſuppreſſion of vice?

Draco puniſhed, Lycurgus prevented crimes; the memory of the firſt is frightful, that of the latter revered, and the people of that ſtate for which he framed

his laws, remained uncorrupted longer than thoſe of any other we read of; his laws were ſo ſimple, his people ſo virtuous, that where there happened to be occaſion for laws, they executed themſelves; the whole nation was leagued againſt vice, as they ſeem to be againſt virtue amongſt us, ſo that a magiſtrate there was almoſt unneceſſary; the charge of prevention is in this country conſigned to the magiſtrate we are ſpeaking of, and the confidential powers with which he is veſted by law are very extenſive; I could trace theſe marks of prevention and of confidence through every title in law which lies within his verge of duty; let it ſuffice to produce one caſe moſt ſubſtantially to my purpoſe under the head of drunkenneſs; the power of licenſing ale-houſes, and of holding their keepers to good order by taking their recognizance, is a precious depoſit in the hands of a magiſtrate of prevention; and as to the extenſive diſcretion of the juſtice of peace in this, it cannot be more fully illuſtrated than by the caſe of the king againſt Pitts and Young, juſtices:

a motion had been made in the King's Bench by one Day of Everſhall, and a rule granted to ſhew cauſe, why a mandamus ſhould not iſſue to compell theſe juſtices to licence the houſe of Day; but upon ſolemn debate the rule was diſcharged, and Lord Mansfield declared, that the *juſtices could not be expoſed to puniſhment for error of judgement only, or for any opinion about the expediency of licenſing, or not licenſing, or about the character of thoſe who apply for licenſes*; for of theſe the juſtices are the the more competent judges.

No magiſtrate ſurely can with any colour of reaſon complain of being clogged in the powers of prevention, after this determination of a judge, poſſeſſed of ſo much genius, learning, and experience, as Lord Mansfield's very enemies allow him to poſſeſs.

The moſt remarkable of our magiſtrates for his long and ſucceſsful practice n bringing delinquents to juſtice, hath, t ſeems, after being glutted with execu-

tions, been at length prevailed upon to beſtow a part of his attention, in ſtopping the riſe and progreſs of vice; he invites all who feel themſelves annoyed by the vicinity of bad houſes, to *give information.* This gentleman hath by his office a *power of enquiring into abuſes, without any information.* Much care hath he taken to trace and to apprehend thieves and highwaymen, at a great expence to the ſtate; if government would be at half that expence in procuring materials for ſuppreſſing brothels, gaming houſes, and diſorderly taverns, the nurſeries of profligacy, this neceſſity of thief-takers would ceaſe, and many members be preſerved to ſociety: ſince then there is not virtue enough amongſt individuals to make them volunteers in removing theſe nuiſances, let it be made profitable to do ſo; let it be as profitable to prevent the generation of ten thieves, as it is to bring one of them to execution; let the clerk, the informer, and their whole ſuite, have their rewards for deſtroying theſe lawleſs ſeminaries; Sir John's men (as they are called) are

ſaid to get often into chaiſes, and aſſume the appearance of gentlemen, as a decoy to the highwaymen; why not perſonate in the ſame manner, in order to entrap the pimp, the bawd, the ſharper? We all know that nothing can be an article of more convenience to the highwayman, the prowling night-walker, and to the lurking ſharper, than acceſs, at all hours, to bagnios, and to the lodgings of unfortunate women, becauſe a fixed abode of their own may lead to detection; and yet it is generally acknowledged, that the neighbourhood, of this worſhipful magiſtrate, affords more conveniencies of this nature, than twenty times its extent in any other part of the town.

I will not impute this negligence of the magiſtrate to the deſign of foſtering vice for his own profitable purpoſe, but am not free from apprehenſions, that the influence of ſome powerful men, whoſe rentals in and about Covent Garden would ſuffer great reduction, if decency ſhould ever get an eſtabliſhment there,

hath controuled his good intentions hitherto; and to our great misfortune, their parliamentary weight is of ſuch importance to the crown, that they muſt not be offended by executing the laws; but although this particular magiſtrate may ſtand acquitted of ſelf-intereſted views in ſuffering ſuch enormities within his hearing, it ſhould be a general rule in ſo corrupt an age as ours, not to *ſuffer any emolument whatever, to accrue either to the magiſtrate, or to any perſon about him from the puniſhment of culprits*, becauſe that makes it more their intereſt to puniſh, than to prevent, and ſome amongſt them may be better pleaſed to let the embryo riſe to maturity, than to cruſh it in the egg. But if it ſhould be our curſe that this fatal diſregard in the choice of magiſtrates does proceed from deſign, not from inadvertency, the deſign of enſlaving the people by the grand preparative of vice, if the bud of virtue is ſuffered to be blighted, leſt it ſhould become troubleſome by expanding itſelf into patriotiſm, then it is fruitleſs to ex-

pect

pect a reform of magiſtracy; however I feel myſelf ſo concerned in this ſubject, that although I heartily wiſh it was in the hands of a more able writer, I cannot leave it without propoſing, that a law ſhould be enacted to preclude any man from the office of juſtice of the peace, who had not in poſſeſſion at leaſt one thouſand pounds *per annum*, and conſidering that in theſe times, there muſt be ſome other ſpring of action beſide publick ſpirit, I propoſe that a liberal ſtipend be allowed him by government, in lieu of theſe perquiſites which increaſe with the increaſe of criminals; and further, to deſtroy any motive to partiality or connivance, I would, if poſſible, exclude every gentleman in the commiſſion from any connexion whatſoever with parliamentary diſputes, either as a candidate, or as a canvaſſer, under ſevere penalties: the univerſal defects in our magiſtracy are indolence and avarice, which would, in my opinion, be greatly corrected, if not totally cured, by ſuch a regulation; prevention, inſtead of actual puniſhment,

would

would be the wiſh of ſuch a magiſtrate, becauſe the former would ſave him much trouble, whilſt no profit would ariſe from the latter; and the expence to government would be reduced, every day, becauſe the number of the idle and of the vicious being reduced, that of magiſtrates alſo may be retrenched in courſe; but alas! whilſt the power of appointing theſe officers is in the crown, whilſt ſuch ſtrong inducements remain for ſecuring a majority in the lower houſe on the ſide of prerogative, that is, whilſt that majority is worth courting or bribing, as the inſtruments of plundering, or of enſlaving the people, theſe officers muſt act in concert with the crown in all electioneering conteſts, and the ſcheme of a virtuous unbiaſſed magiſtracy will, I fear, be looked upon as truly Utopian.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Want of Circumſpection abroad.

A Strict regard to the morals, and indeed to the ſpirit of a people, renders that watchfulneſs of continental movements leſs eſſential to national ſafety than in a ſtate of corruption it muſt be.—Europe is very properly conſidered as a community of ſtates ever ready to take advantage of the ſupineneſs of each other, which is one ſtrong reaſon why the extenſive deſpotiſms of Aſia were never known to prevail here; the ſubjection of Europe to the Roman government was in the opinion of many, a bleſſing to ſeveral nations; although they could not be ſaid to enjoy pure independent liberty, yet their condition was far from being deſpotick; the natives of Spain, of Gaul, and of the other provinces, enjoyed indiſcriminately moſt of the privileges of Rome, and many of them, as Trajan, Maximus,

Maximus, and Conſtantine, had been raiſed to the purple: they received a body of laws from Rome which is revered to this day throughout Chriſtendom; all theſe conſiderations muſt clear the dominion of the Romans from any imputation of mere deſpotiſm; but although univerſal empire is never likely to be eſtabliſhed in Europe, univerſal influence may, which would be a ſevere check upon that general independency which all deſire; whilſt we had no markets for our ſtaple commodities but thoſe of Europe, (ſince we would be a commercial people) more attention was required to the friendſhip of Spain, Portugal, and of other nations, than is at preſent, whilſt Ireland and the colonies are already, or muſt be within a very ſhort time, an equal mart to the whole; the power of France our ancient enemy is evidently in its wain, our circumſpection therefore ſeems to admit of being conſiderably narrowed with regard to defenſive alliances, to treaties of commerce and of ſubſidy; but then our fleet ſhould be not only reſpectable, but tre-

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mendous, and its glories displayed to all nations even during the most profound peace; it should visit the ports of our neighbours, and a British admiral, with a splendid naval retinue, should be vested with the powers of an ambassador wherever he went: as Scipio, who compared himself, whilst he surveyed, from an eminence, the armies of Carthage and of Numidia engaged, to Jove looking from Mount Ida upon the fight of the Greeks and Trojans, so should a British admiral be the cool, impartial, and revered spectator of the contests of nations. The naval parade of Portsmouth might have diverted the foreign ambassadors, but a summers progress of a grand fleet from the streights of Gibraltar to those of Dardanelles, would fill the nations on both sides with respect and admiration; this, together with a determined resolution not to suffer any great power to establish a maritime force between Dantzick and Embden, from whence such frightful swarms of Saxon, Danish, and Norman rovers and conquerors did formerly issue,

fills

fills up the measure of circumspection, provided we enjoy a good state of morality and of religion; the aid of hardy sailors which the Dutch drew from these northern coasts made them so dangerous a maritime enemy to England, during the commonwealth, in our greatest vigour; nor was it without reason, that the Hanse Towns became an object of jealousy to the states of Europe, who would not permit them to rise into a confederated sovereignty.

And here I cannot avoid making some observations under the head of circumspection, upon the difference between the tory and whiggish administrations in that respect; the tory, contracted in his ideas of our political relation to the continent, would either have drawn us entirely from any regard to the rest of Europe, have made us separate from the whole world, as were the ancient Brittons, or they would have placed us in a kind of secondary view, the appendant and the humble friends of France: this fatal

party

party diſtinction had its riſe in the time of Charles the Second, whoſe followers, during his exile, had entertained the moſt favourable opinion of whatever was French; they had conceived a prejudice in favour of the well regulated abſolute power of that monarchy; they would have made it their protectreſs abroad, and their model at home, and almoſt relinquiſhing independency as a ſtate, they had not that attention to things abroad, which a ſovereign ſtate muſt always preſerve, if ſhe would preſerve her dignity. The Tory attachment to the houſe of Stuart proceeded from the probability of enjoying their darling mode of being governed, under princes of that line, and for ſuch a proſpect they would be reconciled to, and would cheriſh a prince of the Ottoman line; their concurrence at particular times with popular meaſures, is far from diſproving theſe charges; when they found the ſenſe of the nation ſtrong againſt them, it was prudent to give way with a good grace; but their preſent junction with the Scotch (whoſe

civil

civil and religious principles they were uſed to deteſt) in order to bring about the eſtabliſhment of abſolute power, ſhews to what unwarrantable length a favourite object will carry a party of Engliſhmen.

The avowed principle of a whig is that of acknowledging the law to be poſſeſſed of a controuling power, as well over the prince as over the ſubject, and as our government is compounded of ingredients monarchical, democratical, and ariſtocratical, although willing to maintain the juſt balance of all, yet, if the æquilibrium muſt be deſtroyed, would be beſt pleaſed to ſee the democratical ſcale preponderate, not from a love of democracy, but becauſe from the preponderancy of that, and not of any of the others, can the æquilibrium be ever again reſtored; but it would be the moſt glaring partiality to inſinuate, that whiggiſh adminiſtrations have always adhered to this principle; it was an avowed whig adminiſtration, that would not truſt the people with triennial parliaments,

ments, leſt the diſaffection of the Tories to the houſe of Hanover might have brought in a Pretender, which meaſure bore a ſtrong appearance of having acted againſt the ſenſe of the people; but theſe nominal whigs were ſtill more flagrantly culpable, by never having ſuffered a revival of ſhort parliaments, although the cauſe of diſcontinuing them hath long ceaſed. He who directed the buſineſs of the nation upon the death of Mr. Pelham, a profeſſed whig, but who hath ſince proved himſelf to have been a Tory in maſquerade, brought into England an inconſiderable number of foreign troops, to defend ſeveral millions of people, and created ſuch an artificial puſillanimity through the inhabitants of this country, as would have delivered them up the tame victims of their own fears, was it not for the intervention of Mr. Pitt; this truly great man brought the whiggiſh principle into real action, and redeemed from the moſt deſerved and from the loweſt contempt the long reign of George the Second, which, had he not been called in, would

have ended as it began, corrupt, ſpiritleſs, and inglorious; his adminiſtration was long enough to deliver his fame to future ages with honour and veneration, but his country hath juſt cauſe for lamenting its too ſhort exiſtence: his enemies object to him the heavy expence of the war, and the great debt incurred; but theſe very men are accountable for thoſe evils of which they complain; had that miniſter been permitted to finiſh the war with that great maſterly hand, with which he was carrying it on, little apprehenſions would now remain of any thing in the power of France or of Spain; the peace eſtabliſhment would have been ſmall; trade with our colonies would have flouriſhed; the revenues would have increaſed, without burthening the ſubject; great ſaving would have been made to the nation, by a total abolition of the arts of corruption; the intereſt of the ſeveral balances in the hands of paymaſters and of the officers entruſted with the publick money, would be applied to other purpoſes, than thoſe of ſecuring the creditors

of

of profligate ſpendthrifts; and in conſequence the weight of our debt would ſoon be lightened by his extenſive wiſdom, and affectionate cares for his country; a debt incurred by the moſt glorious war that England ever ſupported, and which would have been the moſt deciſive of any ſince that which ended in the deſtruction of Carthage, had not the evil genius of this nation, been awakened too ſoon.

Yet with all theſe blemiſhes in whiggiſh adminiſtrations, they had the merit of preſerving ſome reſpect for the people; and while they were actually invading their rights, and ſacrificing their wealth and property to the folly, paſſion, or caprice of our kings; while they were raiſing their own private fortunes at the expence of the publick, they ſtill appeared to do ſo with fear and trembling: although fully perſuaded that the national ſpirit was abaſed, and that the ſubject would endure whatever burthen ſhould be impoſed upon him, they ſtill, I ſay, had the merit of endeavouring to conceal

the weakneſs of their degenerate countrymen from the royal eyes, and to deceive our kings into an opinion that it was dangerous to offend them. This deception the candour of the tories has diſdained; they have ſhewn by the moſt unreſerved and wanton inſults, how paſſive we really are, and that notwithſtanding our clamours and our roarings for liberty, like arrant bullies, we ſhrink from the defence of our rights, when a daring miniſter attacks us with reſolution: the whigs would have left both king and people in the error of our being free; the tories have put an end to that, perhaps uſeful, deluſion, and have convinced us that we are abſolute ſlaves.

With regard to circumſpection, the whig certainly had a manifeſt advantage over the other party; they looked upon their country in the reſpectable light, in which it had a claim to be conſidered; not ſecond to any other European power, but worthy of being the umpire, and of holding the balance of the reſt: they beſtowed

ſtowed much attention upon the ſchemes of their neighbours; they pryed narrowly into their councils; they interfered, perhaps too deeply, in their quarrels; I acknowledge that this was done at a great expence, and that the ambition or avarice of particular men did often carry our meddlings in continental diſſenſions to an exceſs; yet ſetting the inconveniencies on one ſide of the queſtion againſt thoſe on the other, every unprejudiced man will allow it to be more ſafe, more honourable, and in the end more profitable, to be declared principals although at this great expence, than to depend upon, or confide in the good offices of any other ſtate, in matters of ſuch high importance.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Conclusion.

THE force of invigorating climates we have shewn to be sometimes defeated by circumstances of soil and situation; so shall we find in many southern situations the appearance of more northern manners, which hath induced the ingenious author of the *Origin and Progress of Despotism*, to take away from climate every influence upon national manners whatever; he has seen a Frederick reign absolute in the north, the Danes surrender to their king the rights of human nature, and Russia under the domination of women; he hath seen the Arabs brave, fierce, and enjoying liberty, almost without the smallest particle of social alloy: but in the northern countries no uniform permanent despotism hath been establish-

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ed, no total abſence of every idea of law or of conſtitution, which is the caſe in the ſoft ſouthern regions of Aſia, Africa, and America; nobility in the poſſeſſion of property, and of privileges, inſtead of an indiſcriminate maſs of ſlaves, who neither hold nor pretend to hold their lives or fortunes, but by the permiſſion of their deſpot; and in ſpite of the great progreſs of luxury and of the addreſs of modern kings in corrupting and in terrifying by a conſtant armed force, yet are here notions ſtill entertained amongſt them of ſome other rule, beſide the will of one man, which ſhews, that liberty is congenial to their ſouls, although withheld from them by the effects which trade, and its train of conſequences had produced. The climate of the north cannot fill up the meaſure of contentment to its inhabitants; there ever remains a want, and it muſt be ſupplied by liberty or by honour, or by profit: it creates a degree of reſtleſſneſs, which is always ſeeking for ſomething more; and the nobility, who

command the armies of theſe ſeveral ſtates, have it at all times in their power to reſtrain the prince, and indeed to diſpoſe of the ſovereignty: in ſhort the ſupport of the European monarchies is in the nobleſſe, ſo that monarchy here, is optimacy.

The effeminating effects of climate are checked by ſome counteracting cauſes, and the Arabs may be a brave people, without denying the general influences of climate; there are cauſes which hinder even a ſouthern people from ſinking into luxury; on elevated ſituations, amidſt rocks and mountains, the people are driven to hard labour, to the exerciſe of hunting, or to a milk and pulſe diet for their ſuſtenance; that is, they are forced into temperance and exerciſe, which are very powerful cauſes of being brave, active, and free: this however is ſeldom found; a moſt rare caſe, one exception in the Saracens who iſſued from Arabia, and this exception inſtead of invalidating my general propoſition helps to eſtabliſh it: nor are

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we to forget, that when they marched into France, they were immediately defeated by Charles Martel, at the battle of Challons. Southern countries are for the moſt part bleſſed with all, or with more than what will ſupply the wants and gratifications of their inhabitants, at the expence of very little labour: the inclemency of their climate is heat, the diſtreſſing effects of which muſt be eluded by inaction, and by contrivances tending to enervation; whereas cold, the northern inclemency, calls forth labour in mitigation of its ſeverities; food is produced by labour, in order to appeaſe that hunger, which is cauſed by the keenneſs of their air; and inaction, far from guarding them againſt their inclemency, as it does in the caſe of violent heat, would increaſe and aggravate their ſufferings. To conclude, ſomething there muſt be to influence the human will: different objects riſing in competition preſent themſelves to the ſouthern nations, of which to make election; a

prospect of ease or of pleasure, or of both, on one side, that of liberty, fame, and glory, on the other; and that same indolence, which inclines them to the former, determines them to fly from the latter, terrified by the frightful apprehensions of toil, of hazard, and of enterprize. I have read of an Egyptian Hercules, but I always looked upon the authority as doubtful.

FINIS.

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